



RECORDS AND PAPERS
OF THE
NEW LONDON COUNTY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.



VOLUME I. 1890-1894.

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.
NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT.
Press of The Day Publishing Company.

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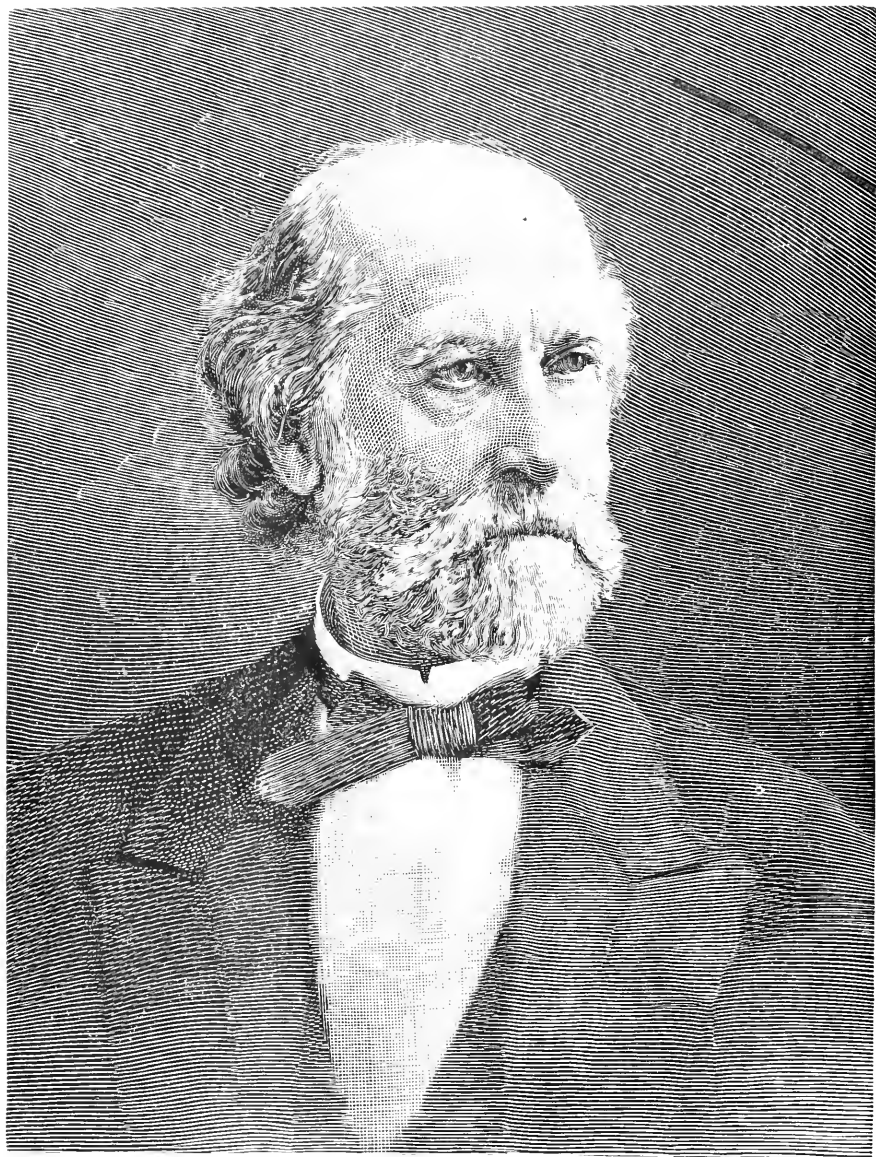
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WASHINGTON.

RECORDS
AND
PAPERS
OF THE
NEW LONDON COUNTY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

PART I. VOLUME I.



HON. LAFAYETTE S. FOSTER.

RECORDS
AND
PAPERS
OF THE
NEW LONDON COUNTY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

PART I. VOLUME I.

ARRANGED BY THE SECRETARY.

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY :
NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT.
1890.

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1890.

THE DAY PRINT, NEW LONDON.

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PREFACE.

It is the purpose of the New London County Historical Society to publish, from time to time, papers that have been read before the Society, documents and records that come into its possession, papers of historical import, and personal reminiscence. It will be the aim of the Society to have these publications uniform in size, that they may be bound together, and to embrace the incidents and reminiscence of all sections of the county. While this first issue is, of necessity, largely devoted to the previous years and membership of the Society, it is hoped that enough of interest outside of this subject has been embraced, to give the book permanent value. In all papers, such as the poems of Miss Caulkins, the paper of Mr. Bacon, and the Memoir of Capt. Law, great care to give the language of the author has been followed, as this leaves with the reader, a better understanding of the writers' thought and style.

OFFICERS

OF THE

NEW LONDON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

FOR THE YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 6TH, 1890.

PRESIDENT,

HON. CHARLES AUGUSTUS WILLIAMS, OF NEW LONDON.

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HON. HENRY BILL, OF NORWICH.

HON. BENJAMIN STARK, OF NEW LONDON.

HON. WILLIAM A. SLATER, OF NORWICH.

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TREASURER,

CHARLES B. WARE, ESQ., OF NEW LONDON.

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HON. NATHAN BELCHER, OF NEW LONDON.

HON. JOHN P. C. MATHER, OF NEW LONDON.

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FREDERICK S. NEWCOMB, OF NEW LONDON.

HON. RICHARD A. WHEELER, OF STONINGTON.

JOHN MCGINLEY, ESQ., OF NEW LONDON.

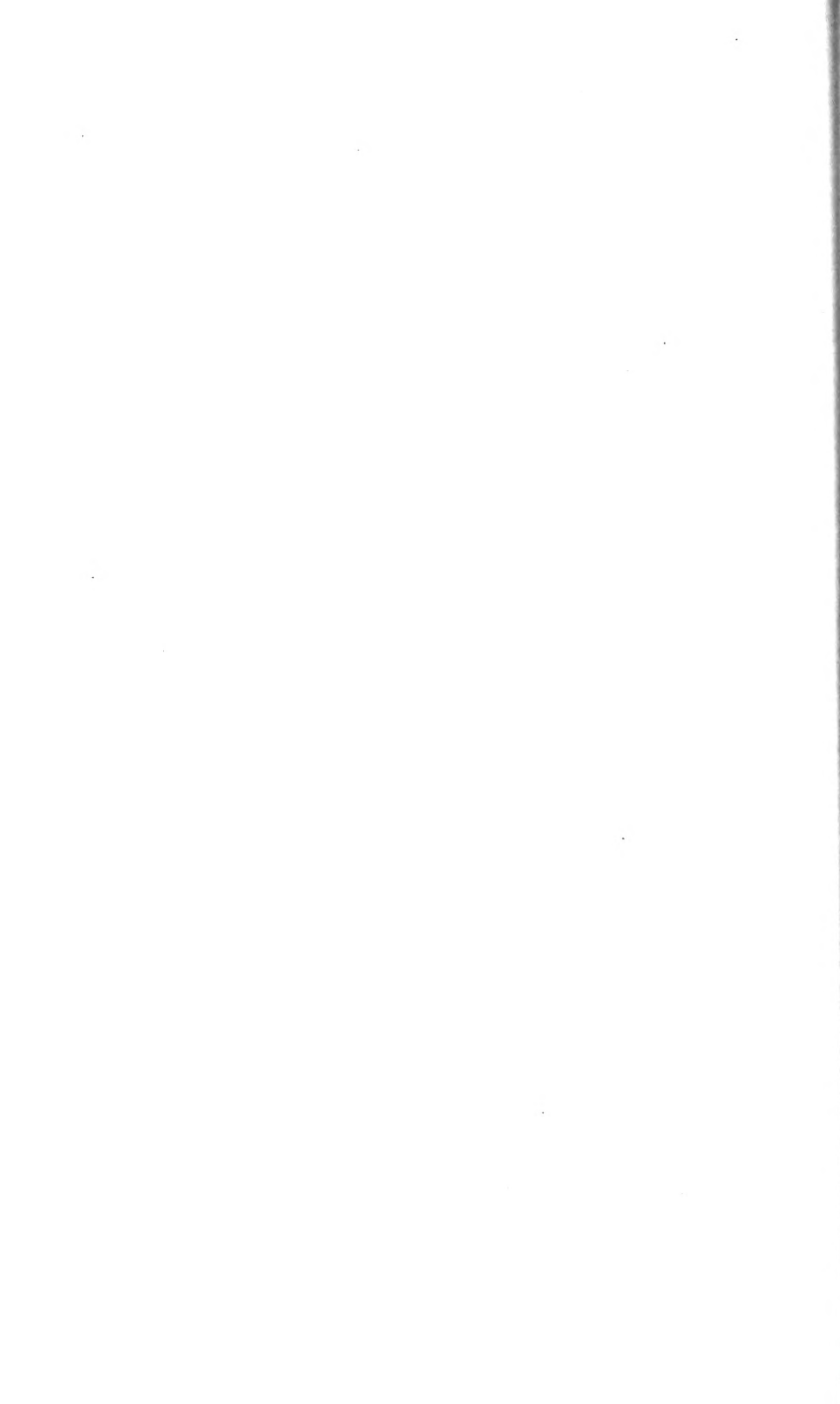
HORACE CLIFT, ESQ., OF GROTON.

MAJ. WILLIAM H. H. COMSTOCK, OF NEW LONDON.

DR. LEWIS D. MASON, OF BROOKLYN.

HON. H. WALES LINES, OF MERIDEN.

DR. AMOS LAWRENCE MASON, OF BOSTON.



ANNUAL MEETING.

The annual meeting of the New London County Historical Society was held in the Society's room, City Hall building, New London, Connecticut, September 6, 1889.

The meeting was called to order at 11 a. m. by the President, the Hon. Charles A. Williams. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

The report of the Secretary was then called for, and was as follows:

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

Mr. President and Gentlemen, Members of the Historical Society:—
Your Secretary is happy to report that the affairs of the Society, both financially, and as regards membership, are in a much better condition than they have been for several years. The debts that had been incurred for rent and printing previous to the present Secretary's term of office, have been paid, and the list of members, which numbered but fifteen at that time, was, during the last year, increased to seventy-one.

Another pleasing feature in the history of the Society for the past year, should be noticed. It is known that our Society has, during its existence, received many publications from kindred associations. Returns have been made in such manner as the secretary holding office at the time, could devise means for, but they have been the result of private publication, and did not adequately represent the Society. During the year just closed, however, the two addresses read before the Society, that is, the memorial of the Rev. Edward Woolsey Bacon, by the Rev. Charles J. Hill; and the memorial of the Rev. Thomas Leffingwell Shipman, by the Rev. William B. Clarke, have been published, and copies sent to all Societies that have favored us with their publications. The Secretary was also allowed copies of the history of the Major John Mason Statue, to distribute in a like manner, and these have

brought many cordial greetings from our associates in historical work, and also a number of books and pamphlets of historic value, in return. Papers, both in and out of the State, have called attention to our publications during the year just closed, and in an editorial, The Hartford Post has kindly given our Society the praise of having published three of the most valuable pamphlets issued by Historical Societies during the year.

Your Secretary would also report the successful issue of the Society's endeavor to mark the Pequot Hill battle site with an appropriate memorial. A fine bronze statue, standing on a granite pedestal, was unveiled there on the 26th of last June. As the Society was largely instrumental in the work, appointing the committee that procured the pedestal and selected the site of the memorial, and also presenting the names of the Commissioners selected to see the matter accomplished, it is but just that it should take pride in the result. The Committee appointed to obtain funds and procure a pedestal did their work promptly and thoroughly, and showed a fine appreciation in the construction of the same. The Committee appointed to select the site were very happy in their selection, and the work of the Commission, both in the matter of the statue, and of the unveiling ceremonies, was such as to make the Society's share in the proceedings a subject of pride and congratulation. To perpetuate, by suitable memorials, the historic events of the vicinity, is one of the duties of our Society, and the memorial on Pequot Hill will fittingly show that we are not remiss in this, either to our State, or to our locality.

The prospect of permanent quarters in the public library building now in course of construction, is one that all members of the Society are pleased to contemplate. With a settled home, the prosperity of the Society will be assured. The Secretary has already received promises of interesting additions to the Society's property, both in historic mementoes and books, as soon as it is located in its new home, and he feels sure that the membership will be greatly increased when a permanent abiding place gives the Society that claim to a future which its previous unsatisfactory quarters did not possess.

Your Secretary is happy to report that no loss by death has come to the Society during the year.

The gifts to the Society, while not so numerous, have been quite valuable. We have received from the President two volumes of the Documentary History of America. Messrs. Wait and Russell have sent the annual Congressional publications; from the

State librarian we have received the different publications ordered by the legislature, and we have also received publications from the New York Historical Society, and the Historical Societies of Oneida county, Utica, New York; Long Island, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Wyoming, Wilkesbarre, Penn.; Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal.; Minnisink, Port Jervis, N. Y.; Virginia, Richmond, Va.; California, San Francisco, Cal.; New Haven Colony, New Haven, Conn.; Buffalo, N. Y., and the Western Reserve Historical Society of Cleveland, Ohio.

The Society has also received books, pictures, papers and pamphlets from C. C. Gardner, Esq., of St. Louis; Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., of Boston, and the estate of the late Mrs. W. H. Starr. Also gifts of a like nature from John E. Darrow, Esq., and Dr. L. D. Mason.

In the matter of the volume that the Society contemplates publishing the material is nearly ready. Among the papers that have been read before the Society, and requested for publication, are "Uncas, his Life and Times," by Dr. Ashbel Woodward, formerly one of the vice-presidents of the Society; "New London in the War of 1812," by Rev. Edward Woolsey Bacon; Historical sketch of the first church established in New London county, by the Hon. Richard A. Wheeler, and "The Mohegan Land Controversy, by the Rev. E. E. Beardsley, D. D. It seems fitting that one of these should appear in our first publication, and with the constitution and by-laws, charter, list of members and officers, obituary list, a sketch of the Society's history, brief biographical sketches of the Hon. Lafayette S. Foster, Dr. Ashbel Woodward, Messrs. W. H. Starr and W. H. Potter, and a catalogue of the Society's library, would make an interesting and valuable work. It would seem that no more fitting time than the present, when the Society is about to locate in a new and permanent home, could be found for the publication of such a volume.

Respectfully submitted,

THOS. S. COLLIER, Secretary.

The Secretary's report was accepted, and on motion of J. George Harris, U. S. N., ordered printed in a newspaper of the city.

The Treasurer's report was then read. It showed that the receipts of the Society had been largely increased during the last year, and that the outstanding bills were less than eight dollars, which, as the annual dues had not been collected, would soon be paid. The report was accepted and ordered on file.

A communication from the Invitation Committee of the Guilford celebration, two hundred and fiftieth year of settlement, September 10, 1889, was read, inviting the Society to participate in the event. The Hon. Benjamin Stark, Vice-President, and John McGinley, Esq., were chosen to represent the Society on the occasion.

New members were proposed, and the following were duly elected: Samuel T. Adams, Esq., Prof. J. K. Bucklyn, William E. Withey, Esq., John McGinley, Esq., and the Rev. N. T. Allen. The Hon. H. Wales Lines, Dr. L. D. Mason and Dr. A. L. Mason were elected life members.

Major John W. Crary, of Norwich, reported that he had received promises of membership from several residents of that city, and hoped soon to present more than promises.

The election of officers was then taken up, and the officers of the previous year were unanimously re-elected. The vacancies in the Advisory Committee were filled from the members newly elected.

Mr. George S. Hazard, of Buffalo, an honorary member of the Society, and present at the meeting, presented the Society with a fine volume, giving the history of the new Public Library building of Buffalo. The book contained many handsome plates. Mr. Hazard complimented the Society on its growth and prospects, and predicted a bright future, as the community was sure to become interested in so worthy an institution.

The President returned the thanks of the Society for Mr. Hazard's gift, and kind remarks.

The proposed volume of Society Records was discussed, and it was decided to make the catalogue of the Society's possessions a separate volume, and the first annual publication of the Society, a record of the Society since its incorporation, to be accompanied with papers of interest suitable for such a publication. The President and the Hon. Benjamin Stark, were associated with the Secretary as a Committee of Publication.

The meeting then adjourned.

Attest,

THOS. S. COLLIER, Secretary.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

LIFE.

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ANNUAL.

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 Capt. Jno. E. Williams, Mystic Bridge, Conn.
 P. H. Woodward, Esq., Hartford, Conn.
 Richard W. Woodward, Esq., Franklin, Conn.

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 J. Ward Dean, Esq., Boston, Mass.
 Charles J. Hoadley, Esq., Hartford, Conn.
 George S. Hazard, Esq., Buffalo, N. Y.

ACT

INCORPORATING THE NEW LONDON COUNTY

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

*Resolved by this Assembly:—*SEC. 1. That Henry P. Haven, Chas. J. McCurdy, John W. Stedman, Richard A. Wheeler, Learned Hibbard, John T. Wait, John P. C. Mather, Ashbel Woodward, Nathan Belcher, William H. Potter, S. G. Willard, Thomas A. Clark, Isaac Johnson, with such other persons as shall be associated with them and their successors, be, and they hereby are constituted a body corporate, by the name of "The New London County Historical Society," for the purpose of collecting, preserving and publishing historical and genealogical matter relating to the early settlement and subsequent history, especially of New London County, and incidentally of other portions of the United States; and by that name shall have perpetual succession, shall be capable of suing and being sued, pleading and being impleaded, and also of purchasing, receiving, holding and conveying any estate, real or personal; may have a common seal, and the same may change at pleasure; may establish such rules and by-laws, not contrary to the charter or the laws of this State, as they may from time to time deem necessary or convenient, relating to the qualifications and admission of members, the times and places of meetings, the election of officers, and all other matters connected with the objects, membership and government of said corporation; *provided however*, that said corporation shall not hold at any one time, real estate, the annual income of which shall exceed five thousand dollars.

SEC. 2. *And be it further resolved,* That said corporation shall meet once in each year, at the town of New London, for the election of a president, secretary, treasurer and such other officers as may be designated from time to time by the rules and by-laws of said corporation ; *provided however,* that in case of a failure to hold an annual meeting to elect its officers, said corporation shall not thereby be dissolved: but the officers of said corporation may and shall continue to exercise the powers and duties of their several offices until others shall be duly appointed in their stead.

SEC. 3. *And be it further resolved,* That the first meeting of said corporation shall be held at such time and place in the town of New London as shall be designated by Henry P. Haven, notice thereof being previously given in a newspaper printed in said New London ; *provided however,* that this act shall be subject to be revoked or altered at the pleasure of the general assembly.

Approved July 6th, 1870.

BY-LAWS.

(AS ADOPTED BY THE SOCIETY.)

MEMBERS AND OFFICERS.

Article 1. A President, three Vice Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer and an Advisory Committee of not less than ten members, shall be annually chosen on the 6th of September.

Article 2. These officers shall together constitute a Board of Directors, who shall have charge of the collections made by the Society, shall provide regulations for their safety, proper use, and shall prepare business for the regular meetings of the Society.

Article 3. Any person may become a life member of the Society by the payment of ten dollars, or an annual member by the payment of one dollar.

Article 4. Life members, wherever resident, and annual members residing within the limits of the county of New London, shall alone be entitled to vote in the meetings of the Society; and the term of all annual membership shall expire with the annual meeting next after subscriptions are paid.

Article 5. Honorary members may be chosen by ballot at a regular meeting of the Society, at which not less than ten members are present, upon nomination of the Directors; provided, such nominations shall have been made at a previous regular meeting. They shall consist of persons residing out of the county of New London, who may be distinguished for important public service to the cause of historic investigation and general literature.

Article 6. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Directors, shall call, by himself or the Secretary, special meetings, when required by five members, and shall deliver or make provision for an address at the annual meeting.

Article 7. The Secretary shall have custody of the files, records and seal of the Society, and shall keep an accurate journal of its proceedings, and also of the proceedings of the Directors, and shall conduct the correspondence of the Society.

Article 8. The Treasurer shall receive all fees for membership, and all other moneys due, and all donations or bequests

of money made to the Society; shall pay any such accounts as may be approved by the directors of the Society, and shall, at the annual meeting, render a minute statement of his receipts and disbursements, and of the property and debts of the Society, which statement shall be examined and audited by a committee appointed at such meeting for that purpose.

Article 9. The Directors may appoint a Librarian and Curator, who shall, under their supervision, arrange, protect and catalogue all books, pamphlets, manuscripts and other articles deposited in the rooms of the society; and shall, before every annual meeting, make a full report to the board of the condition of the library and collection.

Article 10. The Directors shall provide for the reading of one or more papers upon historical subjects at each regular meeting of the Society; or for the delivery of a historical lecture—the manuscripts of which, with the consent of the authors, shall be owned and preserved by the Society.

Article 11. Committees on the various departments of the action of the Society may be appointed by the Directors to report, as the Board may from time to time prescribe.

MEETINGS.

Article 12. The Society may hold its meetings on the last Monday evening of each alternate month, and at such other times as the Directors may appoint.

Article 13. The Directors may meet on the last Monday evening of each alternate month, and at such other times as the President may specify; and five shall constitute a quorum.

Article 14. Notice of the annual meeting of the Society shall be given in one or more public prints; and in all meetings duly called and notified, ten members shall be a quorum for the transaction of any business.

Article 15. The order of proceedings at meetings of the Society shall be as follows:

1. To read the minutes of the preceding meeting.
2. To report donations.
3. To read letters received in correspondence.
4. To attend to unfinished business.
5. To receive written communications or lectures.
6. To receive verbal communications.
7. To transact miscellaneous business.

DONATIONS AND DEPOSITS.

Article 16. All donations to the Society and deposits with the same, shall be entered in a book kept for that purpose, and reported to the next regular meeting of the Society, and proper written acknowledgments shall be made therefor.

Article 17. The collections made by the Society shall never be broken up by sale nor division among the members, nor shall they ever be removed from New London; nor shall any article be exchanged or disposed of except by the unanimous vote of the directors or by the consent of the donors.

Article 18. No person shall take from the Historical rooms or custody of the Society any book, pamphlet, manuscript, or other article belonging to, or placed in the keeping of the Society unless on the approval or by vote of a majority of the advisory committee, provided the right of any person making a temporary loan of such articles for safe keeping shall not be affected by this by-law.

Article 18. Any alteration of these By-Laws may be made at a regular meeting of the Society, such alteration having been proposed at a previous meeting or by the directors.

HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF

THE NEW LONDON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The act incorporating the New London County Historical Society was approved July 6th, 1870, and the first meeting of the incorporators named in the act, took place October 17th, 1871. The act was accepted, and a committee of five, consisting of the Hon. LaFayette S. Foster, Hon. John P. C. Mather, Hon. John W. Stebbins, Hon. Richard A. Wheeler and Ashbel Woodward, M. D., was appointed to draft by-laws.

The committee reported, and the report was accepted, the proper officers chosen, and the New London County Historical Society was a fact in the community.

While no proclamation of its proposed work was put forth, the purpose of the Society, and the reason for its incorporation, were evident to most of the older members of the community, but as they may not be so well understood by those who had no knowledge of the discussion from which the Society grew, it may be well to state them here.

The main work of the Society is to gather and preserve all objects and records having historical interest. The value of the papers, books, documents and like records scattered about the country, stored in garrets, or other out-of-the-way places of deposit, is inestimable. The historian of a locality, section, or country, is often hampered because he cannot command the use of papers lying hid in these cob-web shrouded receptacles. Often they are destroyed, because their value is not recognized by the person who brings them forth from their resting place. To place these in a position of safety and usefulness, is the great object of the Society.

Another worthy duty, is that of determining and marking the sites of historic actions, and no part of the country is richer in these places, than New London county.

The collection of a useful Historical Library, the gathering of archaeological remains, and of objects of interest, such as arms,



STATUE OF MAJ. JOHN MASON,
AT MYSTIC RIVER, CONN.

relics, objects of household use now obsolete, portraits, and the like, were also parts of the Society's desires.

Fortunately, the Society was blessed in its members, many of whom were well-known historical scholars. Its first President, the Hon. LaFayette S. Foster, needs no introduction to the community, or the nation. Other members, like the Hon. John P. C. Mather, Dr. Ashbel Woodward, Hon. Richard A. Wheeler, Hon. David A. Wells and the Rev. Thomas Lettingwell Shipman, possessed reputations that extended beyond the state.

The great need of the Society was a fixed abode, and this is at last at its command. In its new home, which is described and pictured in another part of this volume, the Society will be better fitted to receive, and preserve the memorials, books and papers of which it is the proper custodian, than it has heretofore been, and it should be generously dealt with in this respect.

After its organization, the Society was soon in working order, and began commemorating such acts of the past, as seemed worthy of notice. Addresses on different historical events were made by those best suited to do this; disputed points in the early town and church histories were studied out, and made clear, and the Centennial celebration of the Battle on Groton Heights, and the Burning of New London, was made the subject of solicitation and advancement.

While this was in hand, the site of the Pequot Fort, where Major John Mason annihilated the power of that powerful tribe, was brought up, and after some years, definitely located.

A memorial to mark the spot, was next an object of solicitude, and though some time passed before this was accomplished, it was not lost sight of, nor allowed to rest till carried to a successful conclusion.

It was unfortunate for the Society that during its early days, it met the loss of such earnest helpers and able men as the Hon. LaFayette S. Foster, Hon. Henry P. Haven, Dr. Ashbel Woodward, Rev. Thomas Lettingwell Shipman, Hon. William H. Potter, Hon. William H. Starr, Charles Allyn, Esq., and others. Their loss cannot be made up, and as this came at times when the Society most needed the assistance of their work and counsels, the disadvantage was often discouraging.

The organization was retained, however, and the work carried on, and the Society now shows a better standing both financially, and in its membership list, than it has for many years.

It deserves, and should receive, the support of every citizen who holds his native place in esteem and reverence, for to preserve the history of the different towns of the county, to commemorate the deeds of its citizen, and to mark each historic locality with a fitting memorial, is its mission. To accomplish this, the help of all citizens is indispensable, and it needs but this to make the future of the Society even more useful than its past, successful as this has been, when the disadvantages it has met and overcome are considered.

LIST OF OFFICERS,

FROM THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIETY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

PRESIDENTS.

Hon. LaFayette S. Foster, of Norwich,	1871-1880
Hon. David A. Wells, of Norwich,	1880-1882
Hon. Charles A. Williams, of New London,	1880

VICE PRESIDENTS.

Hon. Charles J. McCurdy, of Lyme,	1871-1880
Dr. Ashbel Woodward, M. D., of Franklin,	1871-1886
Hon. Francis B. Loomis, of New London,	1871-1886
J. George Harris, U. S. N., of Groton,	1880-1884
Hon. Henry Bill, of Norwich,	1884
Hon. Benjamin Stark, of New London,	1886
James Griswold, Esq., of Lyme,	1886-1887
Hon. William A Slater, of Norwich,	1887

SECRETARIES.

Hon. John P. C. Mather, of New London,	1871-1874
Hon. William H. Starr, of New London,	1874-1884
Charles Allyn, Esq., of New London,	1884-1886
Thomas S. Collier, U. S. N., of New London,	1886

TREASURERS.

William H. Rowe, Esq., of New London,	1871-1884
Charles B. Ware, Esq., of New London,	1884

LIST OF MEMBERS,

FROM 1871 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

LIFE.

Allyn James, of Montville, Conn.
 Bill Henry, of Norwich, Conn.
 Bill Frederick, of Groton, Conn.
 Barns Charles, of New London, Conn.
 Chapell Mrs. Richard H., of New London, Conn.
 Copp John J., of Groton, Conn.
 Dickenson William, U. S. A., of New London, Conn.
 Dickenson Mrs. Mary A., of New London, Conn.
 Goddard G. W., of New London, Conn.
 Harris Jonathan N., of New London, Conn.
 Lines H. Wales, of Meriden, Conn.
 Mason Amos Lawrence, of Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Mason Lewis D., of Boston, Mass.
 Newcomb, Frederick S., of New London, Conn.
 Nelson Abiel W., of New London, Conn.
 Packer Asa, of Mauch Chunk, Penn.
 Packer Elisha A., of New York, N. Y.
 Packer Robert A., of Mauch Chunk, Penn.
 Packer Henry W., of Mauch Chunk, Penn.
 Perkins Mrs. Frank A., of New London, Conn.
 Shipman Nathaniel, of Hartford, Conn.
 Turner Elisha, of Torrington, Conn.
 Williams Charles A., of New London, Conn.
 Wheeler Richard A., of Stonington, Conn.

ANNUAL.

NEW LONDON.

Allyn Charles,
 Allyn Louisa S.,
 Allyn Theophilus M.,
 Astheimer William,
 Armstrong B. A.,
 Aiken Mrs. Mary,
 Bolles John Rogers,
 Beckwith Courtland,
 Beckwith E. Park,
 Beckwith Jason,
 Belcher Nathan,
 Belcher William,
 Boss Charles D.,
 Boss Charles D. Jr.,
 Boss Robert P.,
 Butler Charles W.,
 Barns William H.,
 Belden Richard N.,
 Buel Abel P.,
 Bond Henry R.,
 Bnrbeck Miss Lucy E.,
 Benjamin William P.,
 Braman Francis N.,
 Bishop Gilbert
 Brown Israel F.,
 Brown H. A.,
 Browne Richard W.,
 Bacon Rev. Edward W.,
 Bentley A. J.,
 Bentley G. W.,
 Barker Lewis E.,
 Congdon Joseph B.,
 Chaney Rial,
 Chapman William H.,
 Chapman Nathaniel,
 Chapman Dudley B.,
 Chew J. Lawrence,
 Comstock William H. H.,

Comstock Christopher C.,
 Carroll Thomas Ryan,
 Coit Alfred,
 Coit Robert,
 Coit Horace,
 Chappell William S.,
 Chappell Frank H.,
 Chappell Alfred H.,
 Chappell Mrs. Hannah S.,
 Chappell Hiram F.,
 Chapel Richard H.,
 Chapel George,
 Carter C. W.,
 Caulkins Daniel,
 Clark Leverett D.,
 Culver Christopher C.,
 Crump John G.,
 Collier Thomas S.,
 Collier Mrs. Annie C.,
 Cady Walter C.,
 Crandall Herbert L.,
 Daggett Rev. Oliver W.,
 Douglass Joseph C.,
 Darrow John E., Jr.,
 Darrow John Emerson,
 Danforth John,
 Daboll Elisha V.,
 Daboll Charles M.,
 Daboll Timothy S.,
 Daboll George S.,
 Dennison John L.,
 Duff Rev. Robert M.,
 Farnsworth Frederick,
 Field Rev. Thomas P.
 Fitch James Jr.,
 Freeman Richard P.,
 Fuller Newton,
 Goddard James E.,
 Goddard Juliette R.,
 Gardner N. L.,

Grace John,
 Greene Miss Marion Amanda,
 Gaillard William A.
 Hempstead Alfred,
 Hempstead Lyman P.,
 Hempsted Daniel B.,
 Hobart Henry,
 Huntington Daniel B.,
 Hunting Miss Mary O.,
 Hovey Philo B.
 Holt William A.,
 Hallam Rev. Robert A.,
 Hurlburt Rev. Joseph,
 Harris W. W.,
 Harris Hiram D.,
 Hammond Joseph R.,
 Hall E. S.,
 Harris Cassius F.,
 Hawkins Frank,
 Hayes Robert S.,
 Henfield John Howard,
 Jennings Charles B.,
 Jewell Oliver H.,
 Johnson Ed. S.,
 Johnson Rev. J. G.,
 Johnson Milton P.,
 Lee Daniel,
 Lawrence Sebastian D.,
 Learned Leonard C.,
 Learned Joshua C.,
 Learned Walter,
 Learned Mrs. Lora C.,
 Learned Miss Grace H.
 Lanphere C. Tyler,
 Lippitt Andrew C.,
 Lewis Leander,
 Lockwood Miss Mary J.,
 Lockwood Miss Adelaide R.,
 Lockwood Miss Harriet L.,
 Latham Daniel D.,
 Miner Charles Henry,
 Miner Sidney,

Miner Miss Mary F.,
 Miner Sidney S.,
 Miner Frederick K.,
 Miner Mrs. Lydia B.,
 Mather John P. C.,
 Merrill Alexander,
 Mudge Oliver O.,
 McEwen Rev. Robert,
 McEwen Mrs. Betsy C.,
 Marshall George T.,
 Manwaring Robert A.,
 Morgan Elias F.,
 Meeker George W.,
 Moore Ezra,
 Mahan Bryan F.,
 Mitchell Lewis,
 Mitchell Alfred,
 Moran M. R.,
 McGinley John,
 Mead Mrs. Constance S.,
 Morgan George S.,
 Newcomb James,
 Prince Christopher,
 Potter Franklin,
 Prentis Adam F.,
 Prentis Edward,
 Prentis Edward Jr.,
 Prentis Charles,
 Prentis John A.,
 Pratt William D.,
 Porter Isaac G.,
 Potter Thomas,
 Perkins Thomas W.
 Perkins Nathaniel S.,
 Perkins Miss Jane R.,
 Palmer Elisha L.,
 Palmer Frank L.,
 Parmelee F. H.
 Peabody Mrs. Maria L.,
 Rowe William H.,
 Ruddock David S.,
 Rogers George P.,

Richards Allen,
 Raub Joseph L.,
 Rainey Miss Catherine E.,
 Starr William H.,
 Starr George E.,
 Starr Joseph,
 Starr Charles F.,
 Starr Mrs. Maria F.,
 Shepard Cortland L.,
 Shepard Julius T.,
 Shepard George T.,
 Smith Seth,
 Smith Ezra C.,
 Smith Ralph,
 Smith Franklin R.,
 Smith Nathan D.,
 Smith Joseph,
 Short Edward C.,
 Stark Benjamin,
 Stark William M.,
 Strong George Jr.,
 Strong George C.,
 Stoll Charles F.,
 Sheffield W. W.,
 Saxton William H.,
 Strickland Charles W.,
 Stayner Mrs. Marian R. H.,
 Tinker George F.,
 Thurston Benjamin B.,
 Tobey William M.,
 Tate Isaac C.,
 Tate Benjamin R.,
 Tuxbury Warren V.,
 Turner John C.,
 Turner Miss Mary J.,
 Turner Peter C.,
 Tubbs William H.,
 Thompson Isaac W.,
 Thompson Thomas O.,
 Taylor Rev. John P.,
 Tyler A. C.,
 Viets Carl J.,

Wheeler Ralph,
 Warner Earl,
 Waller Thomas M.,
 Williams Leander R.,
 Williams Thomas W.,
 Williams Peleg,
 Williams George M.,
 Williams George,
 Weaver C. Arnold,
 Walker Charles W.,
 Ware Charles B.

NORWICH.

Armes Rev. Hiram P.,
 Aiken W. A.,
 Burnham C. A.,
 Campbell W. H. H.,
 Crary John W.,
 Dart Albert G.,
 Foster LaFayette S.,
 Halsey Jeremiah,
 Holbrook S. S.,
 Harland Edward,
 Huntington J. L. W.,
 Jones W. A.,
 Kinney E. C.,
 Laub J. G.,
 Pratt George,
 Palmer John L.,
 Ripley George C.,
 Starkweather H. H.,
 Stedman John W.,
 Tenny Allen,
 Vickers John H.,
 Wells David A.,
 Wait John T.

MYSTIC RIVER.

Clift Lemuel,
 Clift Hiram,

Clift Horace,
Coates Frank A.,
Brown Samuel S.,
Dennison Daniel W.,
Potter William H.,
Packer Warren W.,
Randall Elias P.,
Rathbun J. A.

MYSTIC BRIDGE.

Barber O. M.,
Bucklyn J. K.

NOANK.

Miner Orrin P.

GROTON.

Allen Rev. N. T.,
Aiken W. S.,
Avery E. D.,
Harris W. D.

COLCHESTER.

Willard Rev. S. G.,
Willard S. P.

JEWETT CITY.

Cooley John G.,
Jones Rev. Franklin C.,
Smith Andrew B.,
Willis Harmon H.,
Woodward Ashbel.
Woodward Richard H.

STONINGTON.

Babcock Giles,
Dennison Miss Eleanor C.,
Hill Rev. Chas. J.,
Palmer Ira L.,
Stanton Miss Maria.

BOSTON.

Bolles William Palmer.

BROOKLYN.

Dolbeare J. G.,
Fellows Charles H.,
Fellows Abby,
Smith H. Allen.

NEW YORK.

Bolles Joshua A.,
Beckwith William H.,
Clark James J.,
Turner L. G.

LYME.

Caulkins Daniel,
Chadwick Daniel,
Lee Richard,
McCurdy C. J.,
Perkins Joseph Griswold.

SOUTH COVENTRY.

Huntington Rev. E. B.

MONTVILLE.

Allyn James,
Baker Henry A.,
Miner Mrs Lydia J. B.,
Palmer Elisha H.

CHICAGO.

Starr William H.

NEVADA.

Brown Thomas N.

HARTFORD.

Woodward P. H.

PAXTON, MASS.

Bill Ledyard.

WESTFIELD, MASS.

Starr Dudley.

ST. LOUIS.

Gardiner C. C.

OBITUARY LIST.

LIFE MEMBERS.

William Dickenson, U. S. A., of New London, Conn.
Asa Packer, of Mauch Chunk, Penn.

ANNUAL MEMBERS.

NEW LONDON.

Allyn Charles,
Beckwith Jason,
Barns William Henry,
Benjamin William Park,
Bacon Rev. Edward Woolsey,
Congdon Joseph Bishop,
Chaney Rial,
Chapman Nathaniel,
Carroll Thomas Ryan,
Coit Alfred,
Chapell Richard Haven,
Daggett Rev. Oliver Elsworth,
Douglass Joseph Chapman,
Darrow John E. Jr.
Danforth John,
Daboll Timothy Smith,
Hobart Henry,
Hunting Mary Otis,
Hallam Rev. Robert Alexander,
Harris William W.,
Hayes Robert S.,
Lee Daniel,
Learned Leonard Coit,
Lippitt Andrew Clark,
Miner Sidney,
Miner Frederic K.,
McEwen, Rev. Robert,
Moore Ezra,
Prince Christopher,
Potter Franklin,
Prentis Adam Frink,
Prentis Charles,
Pratt William Dean,
Potter Thomas,

Perkins Thomas W.,
Ruddock David Scott,
Starr William Holt,
Shepard Courtland Isaac,
Shepard Julius Thatcher,
Shepard George Treby,
Smith Seth,
Smith Ezra Chappell,
Thurston Benjamin B.,
Turner Peter C.,
Williams Leander Russell.

NORWICH.

Armes Rev. Hiram P.,
Foster Hon. LaFayette S.,
Lamb J. G.,
Pratt George,
Starkweather H. H.,

FRANKLIN.

Woodward Ashbel, M. D.

COLCHESTER.

Willard Rev. Samuel G.

JEWETT CITY.

Shipman Rev. Thomas L.

MONTVILLE.

Baker Henry A.

BROOKLYN.

Dolbeare J. G.,
Fellows Charles H.

M E M O I R
OF THE
HON. LAFAYETTE S. FOSTER,

FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE NEW LONDON COUNTY HISTORICAL
SOCIETY.

The Hon. LaFayette S. Foster was born in the town of Franklin, in this county, on the 24th of November, 1806. He was a direct descendant from Miles Standish, the eminent Puritan leader, and also a lineal descendant of Doctor John Sabin, a citizen of this State, who was prominent in the list of its earlier settlers. His father was Captain Daniel Foster, also a native of Franklin, who distinguished himself in several of the battles of the Revolution for his gallantry and efficiency as a military commander. His mother was Wealtha Ladd, also a native of Franklin, a lady possessed of more than ordinary intellectual gifts and remarkable energy, and who was connected by blood with many of the leading colonists in this section of our State. His early education was such as could be obtained in the common schools of his native town, but he prepared for college under the training of the Rev. Abel Flint, of Hartford, and the Rev. Cornelius B. Everest, at that time pastor of the Congregational church in Windham. He entered Brown University in February, 1825, and graduated from that institution in September, 1828, with the first honors of his class.

Ardent and aspiring, he had decided at an early age to pursue the profession of law. Animated by an honorable ambition, determined to succeed in this controlling purpose, confident in his own ability to overcome all ordinary obstacles, from means principally obtained by teaching, supplemented by such pecuniary aid as a devoted mother could render, Mr. Foster qualified himself to enter and sustained himself through college and acquired

his profession. At the November term of the New London County Court, 1831, he was admitted to the bar of this county, and at once commenced to practice in the courts. The early friends of Mr. Foster will recollect that he attracted attention at that time as a young man of unusual promise, and his future prominence as a jurist and advocate was then anticipated. At the time that he commenced practice the bar of this county presented an array of gifted men, who had already won distinction. Goddard, Strong, Child and Rockwell at Norwich, Law, Isham, Brainard, Perkins and the younger Cleveland at New London, and McCurdy at Lyme, were the recognized leaders, and were formidable competitors of the young aspirant for professional honors. But though the task was arduous and the struggle severe, it was not many years before Mr. Foster succeeded in winning a high reputation as a lawyer. He had been a close student, not only when preparing for admission to the bar, but also in the early years after he was admitted, when he had leisure to familiarize himself with the principles of the common law, the statutes of our State and the practice of the courts; so that when he was subsequently called to the trial of important causes he realized the fruits of this course of study, and was prepared to successfully contend with men who enjoyed the advantages of a larger experience and longer established reputations. Mr. Foster's exertions to take a high rank in his profession and obtain a lucrative practice were soon crowned with success. His retainers rapidly increased, his engagements multiplied, litigants that appreciated his great ability eagerly sought his services, and not only his rise at the bar of this county but at that of the State was marked and rapid. He was soon enrolled in the highest rank of counsellors and advocates. Even when in the full enjoyment of public honors, he clung to his profession. On his retirement from the Senate he returned to that pursuit to which he had devoted his early life, and of late years has been often engaged in the trial of important causes. In the argument of cases Mr. Foster's manner was easy and impressive, his voice was clear and well modulated, he had a wonderful command of language, an adroitness in grouping the telling facts developed by the testimony and a forcible mode of presenting the same that had a potent effect on the court or the jury. All through his long and brilliant professional career he so conducted as to win the respect of his associates at the bar, and to lead the public to place unlimited confidence in his professional honor and integrity.

It was not as a lawyer of rare ability only that Mr. Foster at an early age became favorably known to the public and won merited distinction. While engaged in the study of the law he took a deep interest in public affairs, and immediately after entering his profession connected himself with the national Republican, and subsequently with the Whig and present Republican parties. He loved his profession, but at the same time he had a laudable ambition to take a prominent part in the exciting and arduous duties of public life. His political friends in Norwich felt, if he would consent to enter the General Assembly of the State, that they would have in him a faithful and efficient representative, and his party an able and reliable champion. He was many times elected a member of that body—from 1839 to 1854—and was three times chosen Speaker of the House. He entered that service in the freshness of his youth, and he was called from it to a higher and broader field of public duty in the maturity of his manhood. He had remarkable gifts for a successful performance of the duties of the speakership. He was quick, self-possessed, firm of purpose, had an iron control over his temper, and thoroughly understood those parliamentary rules that clothed him with authority and commanded the obedience of the House. Each time that he retired from the Speaker's chair, the members of the House, without distinction of party, bore ample testimony to the ability, courtesy and impartiality that he displayed as its presiding officer.

In 1855 Mr. Foster entered the Senate of the United States and remained a member of that body twelve years. He was elected its President *pro tempore* in 1865, and held the position until his retirement from the Senate in 1867. After the assassination of Mr. Lincoln and the advancement of Mr. Johnson to the presidency, he became the acting Vice-President of the United States, and held that high office while he remained a member of the Senate. As the presiding officer of the Senate he maintained the same reputation for great ability that he had earned as Speaker of the Connecticut House of Representatives; and by blandness of language, firmness of purpose, and personal dignity, commanded the respect and won the esteem of the members of that body.

While Mr. Foster was connected with the Senate it numbered among its members some of the most illustrious statesmen that this republic has ever produced. Fessenden of Maine, Foote and Collamer of Vermont, Anthony of Rhode Island, Seward of New York, Trumbull and Douglass of Illinois, Sumner and Wilson of

Massachusetts, Sherman and Wade of Ohio, Grimes of Iowa, Breckenridge and Davis of Kentucky, Saulsbury of Delaware, McDougall of California, Hunter of Virginia, Benjamin of Louisiana, and Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, were among his intimate senatorial associates

As a scholar, a lawyer and a statesman, Mr. Foster ranked among the most distinguished members of the Senate, and the record that he made, during the twelve years that he was a member of that body, is one of which the State that honored him by placing him there may well be proud. When he first took his seat in the Senate the slavery question, which had long and violently agitated the country, had nearly reached its culmination. Mr. Foster united with his associate senators from the northern states in resisting the arrogant demands of the slave power, and by voice and vote sustained the doctrine of human freedom, and the equality of all men before the law. In the great struggle to save the life of the nation and to preserve our free institutions for posterity, from the day when the first southern state attempted to secede from the Union till the final surrender of the rebel leaders at Appomattox, he took no hesitating nor uncertain part. All his declarations and acts, in the national council or at home, were such as loyalty inspired and love of country demanded.

In 1870 the town of Norwich again sent Mr. Foster to the Legislature of the State; he was once more chosen Speaker; and, before the close of the session, he was elected a Judge of the Supreme Court, a position which he filled until 1876, when, having reached seventy years of age, he was disqualified by a provision of the constitution. As a member of the court Mr. Foster so conducted as to win favorable opinions from lawyers and litigants. His courteous manner to counsel, the patient attention which he exhibited in the trial of causes, his dignified demeanor on the bench, and the strict impartiality and unbending integrity that governed him in his decisions, led the people of the state to hold him in high estimation. His opinions, which he gave as a judge of the court of last resort, and are contained in the recently published volumes of our state reports, disclose extensive research, great legal acquirements, and a clear, active and well balanced intellect.

Other honors were at different times bestowed upon Mr. Foster. He was twice elected Mayor of the city of Norwich, twice he was the candidate of his party for the office of Governor of the State, and in 1851 his Alma Mater conferred upon him the honor-

ary degree of Doctor of Laws, a distinction eminently due to his well known attainments as a scholar as well as a jurist.

He was also interested in all that pertained to the history of his country, state and locality, and from its incorporation in 1870, to his death, was President of the New London County Historical Society, evincing an interest in its object, and an enthusiasm in its work, that was inspiring to those associated with him. His addresses before the Society were, like his arguments at the Bar and in the Senate, careful and logical productions, always interesting and useful, often rising, as in the case of his oration at Fort Griswold, to impassioned eloquence. This was but the natural result to be expected from a man of Mr. Foster's ability and acquirements.

The friends of Mr. Foster who knew him intimately can bear testimony to the versatility of his genius, his untiring industry in the pursuit of knowledge of every kind, and his familiarity with ancient and modern history, and English and American literature. His mind was a storehouse of interesting and valuable information; and his fertile imagination, great command of language, and easy utterance, made him a most interesting and instructive companion.

Mr. Foster was twice married, first to Joanna Boylston Lanman, daughter of Hon. James Lanman, a Judge of the Supreme Court of the State and United States Senator, and the second time to Martha P. Lyman, daughter of Hon. Jonathan H. Lyman of Northampton, Mass., a prominent lawyer of his day in that state, who died young. His first wife died in 1859; his second survives him. Those of us who through his married life have seen him in his home, can truly say that he was beloved beyond expression in the family circle, and that his house was the abode of generous hospitality and of unalloyed domestic happiness.

FRANCES MANWARING CAULKINS.

Frances Manwaring Caulkins was born in New London, Connecticut, April 26, 1795. All of her ancestry were early settlers in New England, and her historical studies had, therefore, much of a personal interest to quicken them. To this, perhaps, the fine quality of her work is largely due, for, without doubt, the best and most careful historians are those who feel the inspiration of intimate association with the events they chronicle.

Hugh Cauken belonged to what, in the Plymouth records, is known as the "Welch Party" people, who came from the borders of Monmouthshire, and he was made a freeman of that colony in March, 1640. The name is variously written in the records, being Cauken, Caukin, Calkin, Cawlkin, and at last Caulkins. Hugh Cauken appears to have been a man of strong personality, for soon after his removal from the Plymouth to the Massachusetts colony, he began to be appointed to offices of trust, filling these with honor to himself and satisfaction to his neighbors till his party, led by their minister, the Rev. Mr. Blinman, located at Pequot Harbor, now New London, in 1650. Here he was again entrusted with positions of responsibility, being, as he had been in the Massachusetts colony, deputy to the General Court, and selectman for many successive years.

Mr. Blinman returning to England in 1658, Hugh Calkin became one of the first settlers of Norwich, but one of his sons remained on the grants that he had obtained near New London, and from this branch of his descendants the historian of New London and Norwich came. Her grandfather was Jonathan Caulkins, a captain in the war of the Revolution, serving under General Arnold and others, and performing good service. Her father, Joshua Caulkins, married Fanny Manwaring in 1792, and three years afterward died in the West Indies, having gone there on a trading voyage. The Manwarings, or Mainwarings, are an old family, noted in English history for adventurous daring, several having held high command on land or sea. The first of the name to ap-



Frances M. Cautkins

pear in America is Oliver Manwaring, who in 1664, purchased property in New London that still remains in the possession of the Manwarings.

Frances Manwaring Caulkins early evinced a love for literary work. One of her early teachers was the Rev. Joshua Williams, who taught a select school for young ladies in Norwich. During the time she attended this school she read much in history, poetry and the sciences, and she carried her love for these with her through life. In 1811 and 1812 she attended the school kept by Miss Nancy M. Hyde and Miss Lydia Huntley, afterwards Mrs. Lydia Huntley Sigourney. Both of these ladies had literary inclinations, and doubtless stimulated the mind of their pupil in that direction. Her first composition, "Antiquities," was written during her attendance at their school.

Miss Caulkins studied Latin, French, German and Italian, acquiring sufficient knowledge to read understandingly in these languages. In 1820 she opened a select school for young ladies in Norwich, and in 1829, became principal of the Young Ladies Academy of New London. She returned to Norwich as a teacher in 1832, and in 1834, relinquished teaching, and began a more thoroughly literary life.

She was devoted to poetry, and many of her early pieces show a smoothness and melody that is very pleasing. After closing her school, she resided in New York until 1842, and then removed to New London, where she resided during the remainder of her life. Her first published writing, appeared in the Connecticut Gazette, April 17, 1816. Her published work in the local press of New London and Norwich, is very numerous, and will, as far as possible, be mentioned in a Bibliography appended to this sketch. Much of her poetry still remains unpublished.

Her historical bent, early led her to gather items and records of local interest, and in 1845, she published a "History of the Town of Norwich." This was very favorably received, and led to her best historic work, "The History of New London," published in 1852.

It is not too great praise to say that this book is the best local history ever published. Its publication was followed by the commendation and friendship of such men as Bancroft, Everett, Winthrop, Savage, and other authorities in national and local history, and the volume has remained an authority, and become a classic. Miss Caulkins' decisions in Genealogical and Historical matters were often sought; and she was elected honorary and correspond-

ing member of the several leading societies of the country, being the only woman to receive this honor from the Massachusetts Historical Society.

In 1866, she published an enlarged "History of Norwich," and on these two works, her literary fame rests, and can afford to rest, for no better work of the kind has ever been done.

Miss Caulkins was a devoted christian and philanthropist. She wrote much for the American Tract Society, and her work was always popular. She was identified with mission, Sunday school and charitable work, her generous nature leading her to sympathize with all who suffered, either in soul or body. Her kindly presence, her tender, loving and comforting words, her appreciation of all that was for the good, made her ever welcome, and so, when on Wednesday morning, February 3, 1869, the angel of death kissed her, and she slept, the people who had known her so long, felt that their lives had met with a great loss.

Space does not admit of a long critical notice of the work of Miss Caulkins, which is not fully represented by her histories. She left many manuscript note-books, gleanings from all sources, that will be of much value to future historians. Her poems, always interesting, often very sweet and pathetic, are numerous, both published and in manuscript, and her contributions to local papers, and to the Tract Society's publications, are of great interest.

Miss Caulkins was a firm believer in the wisdom of retaining the old Indian names, and several poems that she published, gave these honor. A small collection of the poems referring to local scenes or events are given with this slight and inadequate sketch of one who was a true literary spirit, a pure and sweet christian soul, a strong and noble woman.

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POEMS

ON LOCAL SCENES AND INCIDENTS BY

FRANCES MANWARING CAULKINS.

BRIDE BROOK.

A LEGEND OF NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT.

It is not, perhaps, generally known that the settlement of New London was commenced under the authority of Massachusetts. John Winthrop, its founder, bore a commission from the government of that colony. It was at first called "The Plantation of Nam-e-ug," or Nam-e-aug, and its bounds extended on the west to a small stream, two miles west of Niantick Bay, which was called by the Indians Sunk-i-paug, or Sunkipaugset. It issues from a pond of the same name, and falls into the Sound between Black Point and Giant's Neck.

During the first winter after the settlement, the winter of 1646-7, at a time when the whole country was covered with a deep snow, the incident occurred, on which the following poem is founded. Application was made to Mr. Winthrop to go to Saybrook and unite a young couple in marriage, there being in that place no person duly authorized to officiate on such an occasion. But he had been commissioned by Massachusetts, and could not legally fasten the nuptial knot in Saybrook, which was under the jurisdiction of Connecticut. He proposed, therefore, to meet them half way, on the brink of the little stream which was his western boundary. The proposition was accepted, and there Winthrop, accompanied by a party from his plantation, met the bridal train from Saybrook, and the rite was performed. In conclusion, Winthrop gave the name of Bride Brook to the stream, by which it has ever since been known. The pond is also called Bride Lake.

The annals of history can furnish but few incidents more

striking than the Bride Brook marriage. All the accessories of the scene are picturesque and impressive. The little company stood in the midst of a dreary waste of snow, far from any human habitation, except the huts of savages, ancient forests and immense solitudes were around them, beyond which, in shadowy magnificence, vast and indefinite, lay that unexplored world on whose brink they stood. We might, perchance, add to these features, the stalwart forms of natives, a tribe of whom dwelt not far from the place, darting among the trees, or looking on at a distance. What sublime scenery for a wedding. There is no marriage upon record that has such romantic associations.

When this fair town was Nam-e-aug,
A bleak, rough waste of hill and bog,
In huts of seaweed, thatch and log,
Our fathers few, but strong and cheery,
Sate down amid these deserts dreary.

'Twas all a wild, unchristian wood,
A fearful, boisterous solitude;
A harbor for the wild fowl's brood,
Where countless flocks of every pinion,
Held o'er the shores a bold dominion.

The sea-hawk hung his cumbrous nest,
Oak-propp'd on every highland crest;
Cranes through the seedy marshes prest:
The curlew by the river lying,
Looked on God's image, him defying.

The Eagle king soared high and free,
His shadow on the glassy sea,
A sudden ripple seemed to be,
The sun-light in his pinions burning,
Shrouded him from eyes up-turning.

They came:—the weary footed band,
The paths they cleared, the streams they spanned,
The woodland genus grew more bland,
In haste his tangled vines unweaving,
Them and their hopes with joy receiving.

Then beasts of every frightful name,
 And wild men with their hearts of flame,
 By night around them howling came;
 No arms had they but care and caution,—
 And *trust in God* was all their portion.

Firm as the rocky coast they stood,
 And earnest as the rushing flood;
 Disdaining fear, yet fearing God;
 Each man was both a lamb and lion,
 With heart of flesh, but nerves of iron.

They yoked the eagle to the dove;
 They tamed the wilderness with love;
 Clear light within,—clear light above;
 By faith upheld, by foes undaunted,
 Home, freedom, country, here they planted.

Great hearts were those that hither came,—
 A *Winthrop* of undying fame,—
 A *Brewster* of an honored name,—
 Great hearts—the growth of three great nations,
 Laid deep for us these firm foundations.

The angels as they glided by,
 Some gleams of brightness lent the sky;
 And earth's own angels too were nigh;
 The choicest of fair England's daughters
 Came with them o'er the billowy waters.

Now thanks to thee, O, God of lands !
 Who settlest lonely men in bands;
 That brought these angels to our strands !
 The Rose of Eden, heavenly woman !
 To gardens changed, these wilds inhuman.

See! like a rose tree's sudden bloom,
 Bright visions break the wintry gloom,—
 The evergreens breathe forth perfume;
 Love's purple light the scene is flushing,
 A romance into life is rushing.

A streamlet,—Nam-e-aug's western bound,
 A path by craggy hillsides found,
 Meandering to the distant Sound,
 A slender stream, but clear and glowing,
 Down through umbrageous valleys flowing.

Forth from a lovely lake it came,—
 Sweet stream with an ungentle name;—
 But now ice-bound, snow-wreathed and tame;
 No longer sparkling, prattling, leaping,
 The Naiad of the brook was sleeping.

To this fair stream two sledgy trains;
 Grotesque and quaint as Lapland wains;—
 Rushed swiftly o'er the dazzling plains:
 Vast earth before, behind, all hoary,
 Embosomed in a shroud of glory.

How still is all surrounding snow!
 How dead but for this diamond glow!
 The sun's exuberant overflow,
 Filling the air with quivering gladness,
 Relieves earth's spectre of its sadness.

No sounding bells waked nature's ear,
 Yet music, flowing sweet and clear,
 Rippled the sea of silence drear.
 Cheery they come,—men, maidens, singing,
 And all the echoes round them ringing.

They meet:—here noble Winthrop stands:—
 Come forth ye gladsome bridal bands,
 Ye snow-capped hills, clap all your hands!
 Ye spicy cedars green and towering,
 Draw round them all your screens embowering.

The woven nets are lightly spread;
 The spruce boughs yield their fragrant aid;
 The white smoke o'er them curls a shade;
 And fruits and viands choice and dainty,
 Flow from the ample horn of plenty.

Her furry wrappings cast aside,—
 As rosy skies when clouds divide;
 Forth stepped the conscious, blushing bride,
 A trembling, serious, fadeless beauty,
 Commingling sweetness, love and duty.

She stood like summer on the snow;
 No morning dawn around could throw
 Such rosy light, so warm a-glow;
 And hovering clouds with seraphs laden,
 Showered heavenly blessings on the maiden.

She was a dame of fair degree;
 Her lover fearless, bold and free,
 Had suffered scaith by land and sea;
 Their hearts long pledged by word and token,
 Now let the sacred rite be spoken.

Their hands were clasped, and Winthrop prayed;
 The life-long covenant was made;
 High heaven a mute attention paid;
 Winds, groves and hills with reverence lowly,
 Trembled around a scene so holy.

“Now Sunk-i-pung is Bridal Lake;
 Flow, ever flow,”—thus Winthrop spake,—
 Round hearts and homes thy journey take;
 Love’s streamlet out of Bride Lake welling.
 GOD LEAD A BRANCH TO EVERY DWELLING.”

WE'VE NOTHING OLD.

A NEW LONDON BALLAD.

We've nothing old:—our parchment proofs,
 Our red-ink print, our damask woofs,
 All perished with our gabled roofs,
 When Arnold burnt the town.

The records of the port and shore,
 Customs and clearances of yore,
 Deeds, testaments, were seen no more,
 When Arnold burnt the town.

Those dear old Bibles, clasped and wrought,
 By Pilgrims from Old England brought,
 Bound to their breasts—all came to naught
 When Arnold burnt the town.

The strange, quaint fashions of old time:
 Three-cornered hats, white wigs sublime,
 Red cloaks, knee-buckles, left our clime,
 When Arnold burnt the town.

Hood-pinner*, and blue homespun dye;
 The pillion and the *ride and tye*;
 The spinning wheel's loud hum went by,
 When Arnold burnt the town.

The door-stoops with their benches gay;
 Broad fire-place, like an open bay;
 Well sweep and horse-block passed away,
 When Arnold burnt the town.

Old portraits from our Island home,
 Memorials kept through years of gloom;
 Heir-looms of centuries found a tomb,
 When Arnold burnt the town.

*Hood-pinner were long lappets on each side of the ancient hood, that floated upon the wind and made a great show upon horseback. *Pinner* is a corruption of *pinna*, a wing.

Her wings the queen of Romance spread;
 With her went ghosts and omens dread;
 Blue laws and witches shrieked and fled,
 When Arnold burnt the town.

Then dropped the arrow from the spire;
 The old chief's arrow,† touched by fire,
 Whelmed with the church in ruin dire,
 When Arnold burnt the town.

Long lines of ancient buildings fell;
 The sacred homes men loved so well,
 All vanished in the fiery swell,
 When Arnold burnt the town.

How many woke that sunny morn
 No more to greet the rising dawn!
 How many widows wept forlorn
 When Arnold burnt the town.

Full many a flaming vessel stood,
 Terrific on the briny flood:
 The reddened waters shone like blood,
 When Arnold burnt the town.

Far off the wandering outcasts strayed;
 Far off their burning homes surveyed,
 And wept and called on God for aid,
 When Arnold burnt the town.

What pinching want, what sense of wrong,
 What howlings, wailings, loud and long,
 Came home with the returing throng,
 When Arnold burnt the town.

Sad groups of women wandering lone,
 Surveyed the smouldering heaps of stone,
 Nor knew which pile to call their own,
 When Arnold burnt the town.

†The Episcopal Church, standing on the Parade, shared the fate of the surrounding buildings. The guilt ball on the summit of the edifice, had been pierced by an arrow shot by an Indian chief many years before. The arrow was still hanging from the ball when the church was burnt.

O muse of history ! muse of song !
 How sad the numbers that prolong,
 The memory of that day of wrong,
 When Arnold burnt the town.

Our London is forever *New*;
Our Father Thames rolls on as blue,
 As smooth as on that day of rue,
 When Arnold burnt the town.

We've nothing old ! Ah, say not so !
 Some good *old ways* we yet can show;
 Some good old customs 'scaped the blow,
 When Arnold burnt the town.

We ring the bell at nine o'clock !
 We blast away and build on rock;
 Old Liberty survived the shock,
 When Arnold burnt the town.

And *names*, old names our fathers bore:—
 The *old warm heart*, the *open door*—
 These gems remained to grace our shore,
 When Arnold burnt the town.

And who hath older hills and seas ?
 See how the white sails take the breeze !
 This bay ! these shores ! they left us these,
 When Arnold burnt the town.

KIDD'S GARDEN.

A LEGEND OF THE MONEY-DIGGERS.

There is a tradition that the pirate Kidd, having anchored his vessel in the harbor of New London, placed a chest of his ill-gotten gold in a boat, and with a few tried followers rowed up the river Thames, during the darkness of the night, and landed on the west side, towards Norwich. From thence the party struck into the woods, dragging the chest with them, till they came to a secluded dell, where they buried it deep, and sacrificed one of their number on the lid to keep the treasure safe until it should be called for by certain mystical signs, known only to those who buried it. The spot remained for more than a century unknown. It was then discovered by a conjurer from Vermont, through the virtue of a witch-hazel rod, properly charmed for the purpose, and the pit explored by a credulous company at midnight, with the success detailed in the following ballad. The name of Kidd's garden appears to have been given to the place in derision, on account of its ruinous condition.

In yon dark wood there is a dell,
 With rifted ledges walled;
 The roving truant knows it well—
 "Kidd's garden," it is called.

A yawning pit is found therein,
 Where poisonous berries grow;
 And stains no falling showers can clean,
 Mark all the stones below.

With darksome hemlock shaded o'er,
 At noon-day still 'tis cold :
 There, once, at midnight's darkest hour,
 A wizard dug for gold.

Thrice called he on the world below,
 Thrice stamped he on the ground;
 Wrung deep the art that none should know,
 And traced his circles round.

Then plied the spade, till loud and clear,
 He struck upon the lid—
 So; from the pit with brandished spear
 Up started Robert Kidd !*

The wizard's eye was dim with sin,
 But by the shadows dread;
 And by the cold he felt within,
 Weil did he know the dead.

On right and left his spells he laid,
 And oft he changed his post,
 Yet, still where'er he thrust his spade,
 There stood the sullen ghost.

Then spake he—"by each demon grim;
 By blood wrung from my heart,
 Thou head, thou trunk, thou shadow, limb--
 I charge thee, hence depart !

By the Black Art all mortals dread,
 Twelve fathoms from the shore;
 I lay thee in the sea's deep bed,
 By the side of William Moore."†

He waved his wand; high winds he brewed:
 He cried, "Avaunt! Avaunt!"
 Yet there the stubborn phantom stood,
 Tall, indistinct, and gaunt.

And lo it speaks—"A Captain I,
 Of fearless arm and bold;
 Nor witch, nor wizard e'er shall spy
 A penny of my gold.

*The true name of Captain Kidd was William, but in ballads and traditions he is called Robert.

†See the old song of Capt. Kidd:—

"I murdered William Moore,
 As I sailed, as I sailed,
 I murdered William Moore,
 And left him in his gore,
 Not many leagues from shore,
 As I sailed."

With charms and spells I told each heap,
 And every ingot weighed;
 And on each chest the lock to keep,
 A buried man is laid."

He ceased and straightway from the ground,
 A thick mist upward rolled,
 In clouds of darkness gathering round,
 To thwart that wizard bold.

And every magic knot he twined,
 Some mightier spell undid;
 For no man e'er the gold can find,
 Or lay the ghost of Kidd.

And they who seek will find to-day,
 Instead of treasures rare,
 A fear-shaped ghost that guards for aye,
The gold that is not there.

THE ATLANTIC'S BELL.

The *Atlantic*, a fine new steamer belonging to the Norwich and Worcester Railroad Company, was lost on Fisher's Island, near the entrance of New London harbor, Thursday, November 26th, 1846. Forty-two persons perished with the wreck.

"When the steamer struck the shore, the dashing of the waves against her frame caused the bell to toll. The tone of this bell is uncommonly shrill and clear, and heard at such a time, must have seemed like a peal from another world. It has been frequently heard since the consummation of the catastrophe, and is still sending forth at intervals its solemn and piercing sound"—[Local paper of late date, 1846.]

Storm-spirits ye did well,
To swing the funeral bell,
That sad night;
Noting down with iron pen,
When the struggling souls of men
Took their flight.

Mid the raging tumult round,
How the shrill entrancing sound,
Fills the air!
Over mastering the gale,
Childhood's shriek, woman's wail,
Man's despair.

From eternity's dark land,
On whose cold brink they stand,
Hark! it rolls;
Pealing forth the notes of woe,
Ringing loud, ringing slow,
For the souls,

Ah! 'tis not the broken deck,
Man, man's the only wreck,
Worth a tear!
Oh ye seas! what a prize,
What a costly sacrifice,
Ye took here!

Yet they perished not in vain:
 From their peril, from their pain,
 Let us turn.
 To the lessons they unrolled,
 Worth an argosy of gold,
 But to learn.

For the sons of God were there,
 Men of faith, men of prayer—
 Unsurpassed;
 And the love of Christ had power;
 'Twas an anchor in that hour,
 Holding fast.

There was *one*¹ whose face was seen,
 Like a shining and serene
 Crystal sea:
 Sublimed, as if the soul
 Had already passed the goal,
 And was free.

There was *one*² of manly brow,
 "*We are nearer Jesus now,*"
 Was his cry:
 Then the rushing surge swept o'er,
 And the loosened seraph bore
 To the sky.

One calmly said,³ "Of old
 My Saviour's voice controlled
 All my woe;
 And if through the raging sea,
 Now he says, *Follow me,*
 I will go."

1—Dr. Armstrong, of Boston. The serene and heavenly expression of his countenance during the whole of that trying Thursday, has been mentioned by several of the survivors.

2—This gentleman, (whose name was not known to the passengers who related the circumstance,) was heard several times expressing his confidence in God, and encouraging others to trust in him. He was in the saloon, and was heard to utter the words quoted above, just as the sea broke over and dashed the saloon from the deck, crushing or drowning all who were in it.

3—A gentleman from Ohio; name not known.

No thought amid the strife,
 Of his own death or life
 Had the chief;⁴
 The burden on his breast,
 Was the lives of all the rest,
 And their grief.

They dropped into the wave:—
 Some found in it a grave,
 Some an ark:
 Down, down into the deep,
 As they fall, as they leap,
 Hark ! oh hark !

Now the loud and silvery bell,
 Like an anthem seemed to swell,
 Shrill and sweet !
 And a group of angels came,
 With their bosoms all in flame,
 Friends to meet.

They caught the jewels bright,
 As they burst forth in light,
 From the clay;
 And the souls and seraphin
 In a sweet Thanksgiving hymn
 Passed away.

Yet still upon the deck,
 Mid the breakers and the wreck
 Swings the bell;
 Now an anthem floats around,
 Now a low and dirge-like sound,
 And a knell.

Above the rising breeze,
 And the heavy booming seas,
 Peals its woe;
 Like a requiem in the air
 Wildly mournful: it is there,
 Swinging slow.

4—The noble self-forgetfulness of Capt. Dustan cannot be too highly praised, since it seemed to spring from a high sense of the responsibility of his post, and his duty as a man and a Christian.

CROSSING THE LINE.

A MARINE BALLAD.

In former times when a ship crossed the equinoctial line, it was a festival day for the crew. The ceremonies consisted of a dramatic farce, in which some of the old hands, disguised to represent Neptune, Triton and others of the marine deities, slipped away from the ship in a boat, and then pretended to board it for the purpose of initiating the fresh seamen, and giving them a passport into the other hemisphere. It was, therefore, a season of frolic to the old sailors, but of apprehension and terror to the novitiates, who were not only taxed to pay for the entertainment, but were subjected to a great variety of wild barbaric tricks and impositions from their comrades.

A preliminary salute was usually given on the day before the festival. By various pretences the freshmen were lured into the right position upon the deck and then subjected to a shower bath—a torrent of water being suddenly dashed upon their heads from the rigging above, where men with well filled buckets had been previously placed. After this the ship was hailed, apparently from the bosom of the deep, and the inquiry made if any freshmen were aboard. If answered in the affirmative it was announced that *the king* would call the next day to examine their passports and get *his fee*.

When the eventful day came, a loud knocking on the sides of the ship, and the sound of a trumpet announced the arrival of Neptune and his train, who were received upon deck with acclamations. The costume of the deities was necessarily fantastic. Such materials as could be found on shipboard must suffice, whether appropriate or not. Deer's horns, or ox horns, a horse-hair mane, or a bundle of rope yarn about the neck, a sheepskin robe or a colored blanket were forced to take the place of accoutrements strictly marine.

The ceremonies of initiation were various. Those described in the following ballad as performed on board the "Lady Ann," were often practiced in our American vessels forty and fifty years since. It was always a favorite device to oblige the freshmen to disclose the secrets of their former life, and particularly the love passages and the names of their sweethearts—these confessions being received with boisterous acclamation.

Happily these rude practices, savoring of a barbarous and superstitious age have passed away, and every feeling heart rejoices to see them abrogated. Though long countenanced by commanders as a source of amusement, breaking up the tedium of a long voyage, their tendency was evil, terminating as they usually did in a disorderly carousal. But the picturesque or rather *grotesque* accompaniments of these sports give them a certain legendary and romantic interest, and as incidents of the past they are of historic value

High up the equatorial ridge,
Sallies the glorious ship;
Blow fresh ! we are near the central bridge,
To-morrow old Latitude's bars we slip,
And into his nether kingdom dip.

"The Lady Ann" her signals tossed,
Her topsails swept the air;
She hung o'er the verge where the circles crossed,
Like a hovering cloud awaiting there,
Grim Neptune and his sea green fair.

The freshmen all with visages blue,
By the side of the tall masts stood;
"Waterspouts ! waterspouts !" shouted the crew;
Down from the tops came a rushing flood.
Every raw hand took a bucketful good.

Hark ye, my masters ! far away !
Trumpets are stirring the tide,
And a voice is heard—"What ship is this, hey?
Tramping over my seas in its pride?"
"We are free ! we are free !" the captain cried.

"Bring ye my old merry subjects and true ?"
"Ay, gallant king, and some more !"
"Soho ! there are freshmen amid your crew !
I shall call to-morrow, at twelve or before,
With my queen to haul your passports o'er."

The Lady Ann in the morning sun,
Gay as an empress swings;
Hither and thither her ribbons run,
And she shakes in the breeze her canvass wings,
As over the edge of the line she springs.

Clear the decks, and on with your best,
 Sol's beams o'er the forecastle shine:—
 "Who knocks at our bows? it is he our guest,
 All hail to thee, Neptune, lord of the line!
 Hail to thy queen, too, nine times nine!"

In came the water-king, scaly and green,
 Dripping with slime and sea-weed;
 His horns were the horns of an elk I ween,
 His trumpet was wrought of a conch shell and reed,
 And his oozy beard was the mane of a steed.

In came his consort buxom and gay,
 With garments all floating so free:
 "Down, freshmen, down! to the hatches away!
 A health to our guest of right royal degree!
 A health to old Neptune, Lord of the sea!"

"Bring out the chariots!" stately and high,
 The gods take their conquering ride;
 Thrice around the deck, cannon mounted, they fly—
 While the nectar they love flows forth like a tide,
 In healths at each compass to Neptune and bride.

"Bring up a freshman!" trembling he came
 And stood before Neptune the brave;
 His lordship demanded his nation and name:
 "And who gave you leave to be plowing my wave?
 To the pump, my merry men! punish the knave."

Aha! to the pump! thy thirst in his arm,—
 He fought like a lion at bay;
 "Who is your sweetheart? speak truth to save harm,"
 Not a word:—"press the spike," he shouted Sue Clay.
 Sweet Susy!—I've promised to wed her next May!"

Loud shouted Neptune, and loud laughed the crew:
 "Confessed like a man as you be!
 You are free of my kingdom for aye, thou true blue!
 Take your oath, make your bow, and lay down the fee:
 Allegiance to Neptune, the Lord of the sea.

"Come, give us another !" they brought up Bar Hill,
 As white as a ghost, and as grave;
 Not a syllable, he, biting thumb he stood still;
 "Let me look at your beard, a good one to shave;
 Bring my razor and soap !" said the king of the wave.

They bound his hands rearward; alas ! for poor Bar,
 And then seated him high on a rail;
 Down o'er his swarthy cheek trickled the tar,—
 Flashed on his eyes rusty hoop, file and nail—
 Then quivered Bar's lip—out bolted the tale.

He had left his true love, black-eyed Nancy Binn;
 His troth he had broken that day;
 But he promised so fairly to woo her again—
 With a chorus and dance they whirled him away,
 And they drank "Nancy Binn" in a bumper extra.

Thus Neptune, the freshmen, nine overhauled;
 Some were plunged in the ocean's brine;
 Some threw down the chink, and got slightly mauled,
 Much laughter exploded—the king stayed to dine—
 O great was the merriment crossing the line.

THE MOURNFUL BIRTHDAY.

A REMINISCENCE OF NEW LONDON.

The following ballad is founded on a traditionary incident in the early life of E. ***** S. *****, one of the sons of the Right Rev. S. S., of New London. He was betrothed to the beautiful daughter of Capt. William Coit, a naval officer of the Revolution, and the nuptials were to take place on her 22nd birthday. Not long before the time arrived, the lover went to New York to make the bridal purchases, and on his return was delayed three days in the Sound, by storms and head winds, an occurrence not uncommon when the intercourse with that emporium depended principally upon sloop navigation.

On the eve of his expected bridal, he arrived at the mouth of the harbor, and being set ashore from a boat, came on foot to the town, which he gained about midnight. His route led him near the residence of his affianced bride, and surprised by seeing a light burning in her chamber, he stopped at the house and found her dying. She had been attacked by an acute disease during his absence; had sunk rapidly, and a few hours after his arrival expired in his arms.

The grief of the lover was extreme, and for a long period he spent a portion of every day and night at the grave. He caused it to be enclosed with a light fence, and had the head-stone reversed, with the inscription on the side towards the grave, that he might sit at the foot of the hillock and muse upon the sad record.

The paling has long since mouldered away and disappeared, but the reversed stone is still to be seen in the ancient Burial Ground bearing the following inscription:

In Memory of
Miss Nancy Coit,
daughter of
William and Sarah Coit.
She was born March 30, 1770,
and
Died March 30, 1792.

A MOURNFUL BIRTHDAY.

TO HER FRIENDS.

On yonder hill a grave yard old,
 O'erlooks a beauteous scene:
 Thick rise the stones, but flowers unfold,
 And wild vines thrive between.

No sexton now the embroidery mars,
 No spade disturbs the clay,
 There shine by night the heavenly stars,
 The flowery stars by day.

There sleep the men of other lands,
 That tamed these deserts rare:
 The grave first made by English hands,
 Along this coast, was there.

The fathers ranged with head-stones gray,
 The children at their feet,
 Lie, waiting for the break of day,
 When they their Lord shall meet.

One grave there is,—a maiden fair,
 Was in its bosom laid:
 Low leaning on the footstone there
 Her lover wept and prayed.

Day after day, in mournful guise,
 He lingered there alone:
 With throbbing heart, and deep, sad eyes
 Fixed on the written stone.

Sweet Nancy Coit,—a lily bright;
 How frail bright lilies are !—
 She faded from her lover's sight,
 As fades in heaven a star.

She slept; but rose an angel bride,
 While he survived in death;
 Heart dead—and she unseen beside,
 Warm with celestial breath.

And still each night though dark the shade,
 And chill the breezes swept,
 The lover and the buried maid,
 Their hour of meeting kept.

Men came: in deep respect they passed:
 The child trod gently near:
 Trees round a softer shadow cast,—
 Winds lowlier met the ear.

At length an old man tottering by,
 Beheld him on the ground;
 And heard the long-drawn bosom sigh,
 That thrilled the leaves around.

Uncovering all his silvery hair,
 An answering sigh he sighed:
 And long in pitying silence there,
 Leaned on his staff beside.

Then spake, "Dear youth, I pray thee, tell,
 Why 'mid these tombs you lie:
 I walk where I must shortly dwell;
 But *you* are young to die."

"Nay, friend, why should you pause to hear,
 The murmurs of my woe?—
 I see the angel wings shine clear,
 That round your shoulders glow:

Go ! bruise within your hopes divine;
 For me there is no light:
 My weary head would fain recline,
 Beneath this turf to-night.

The parted friend his friend would see,
 The lover join his love:
 Why glanced that fatal shaft from me,
 That struck my bosom's dove?"

"Young man, old age is near to heaven;
 It hears the music flow:
 To me some soothing whispers given,
 I may to thee breathe low.

Then tell me why this deep despair,
 What makes cold death so cold ?”
 “Kind friend, so gentle is thy prayer,
 I will my grief unfold.

I left my love: in haste I sped,
 To fair Manhattan’s Bay;
 For gifts around our home to spread,
 And grace our nuptial day.

A bridal robe of spotless hue,
 A golden ring I sought,
 A white-rose wreath, a Bible true,
 For my dear love I bought.

Where yonder Pharos, tall and white,
 Stands sentry o’er the Bay;
 Our homeward sails with winds too light,
 Becalmed at evening lay.

With eager haste I sought the land,
 And with impatient tread,
 Imprinted fast the moonlight strand,
 That homeward brightly led.

‘O, blest to-morrow!’—musing long,
 I dwelt on that sweet theme;
 At every foot-fall pouring song,
 From love’s o’erflowing stream.

Hushed was the town: ’twas midnight deep,
 I turned aside to see,
 The mansion where perchance in sleep,
 My loved one dreamed of me.

Quick lights across her window shone;
 The sash was raised for air:
 Forms flitted by; a faint low moan,
 Struck me with dire despair.

I called her name, I cried aloud:—
 I knelt down by her side:—
 That nuptial robe—ah ! ’twas a shroud,
 That I had bought my bride.

I saw the light of life decline,
 The death-pang shake her frame:
 Her birthday should have made her mine,
 But death, the bridesman, came.
 She moulders here—that stone I placed,
 And turned its face to me,
 That her dear name upon it traced,
 I, sitting here might see.
A mournful birthday to her friends;
 That line so sadly true,
 My heart wrote, and my heart it rends,—
 My love was twenty-two.
 Below there is a gloomy cell,
 That holds a narrow chest;
 There all my hopes, my prospects dwell,—
 My heart's possessions rest.
 I built this small enclosure round,
 Here at her feet to lie:
 I want no world but this small bound—
 Go, leave me here to die.”
 “Could we but pierce the veil of night;”
 The old man gently said;
 “We should see jewels burning bright,
 Beneath this dust we tread.
 Whilst we sit moody, looking low,—
 Up to a golden seat,
 Just spirits rush, all life, all glow,
 The soul's dear Lord to meet.
 Why seek thy lost love in the sod,
 When she sits on a throne?
 Arise, go run life's race;—serve God;
 True love is so best shown.
 Thyself must win a heavenly crown,
 Or see thy love no more,”—
 Pierced by these words, the youth bent down,
 God's mercy to implore.
 With inward prayer and head declined,
 The old man walked apart:
 But these few words he left behind,
 Bore fruit in Seabury's heart.

THE COMET.

What is this,
That suddenly amid the shrinking stars,
Streams like a rushing flame? Its lengthened locks
Combed quaintly back, its beaming forehead turned
Ardent and fair upon the glowing sun,
While like a banner spreading far behind,
Its burning garments trail! What Phaeton
Is in the chariot now?

Is war declared
Among the principalities of heaven,
And yon red stranger a commissioned chief
Embattling squadrons for celestial fight?
Or is it but a crude, unfinished world,
Vailed in warm mist, concocting for abode?
Or rather some condemned, rebellious orb
Meeting its fiery doom? See how the flames
Blown backward by besetting winds leave bare
The central blaze, intensely white and keen!

Vain questions these; philosophy is dumb.
Yon fiery guest may be a perfect world,
Enriched with life transcendant and sublime,
Who knows but in those fervent scenes reside,
Beings to whom the scarlet fire may seem
Fresh morning to their eyes! The tenuous flames
Are breath to them: mid banks of solid fire
They sport as on green grass. 'Tis grateful shade;
And here and there a ray of deeper red
Thrills them like beauty; fire, their quickening wind,
Their clouds, their sky, the matter of their globe,
Harmless, and solid to their touch as earth.

O beauteous system of revolving orbs!
How like a monarch sits the central sun,
On his bright seat. Heart of a hundred worlds,
Moons, planets, comets, endless asteroids,
The great attended by the less they move
Majestic round his throne while vital light
Flows from his bosom and gives light to all.

He holds the harnessed spheres in his firm hand,
 Constraining their repulsive disks to move,
 Unwilling in fixed paths. Now with loose rein,
 Allows them in long ovals to revolve;
 Now fiercely irresistible allures,
 Their rushing orbs almost into his flames.
 Comets are his adventurous messengers,
 And loyally to distant realms they pass,
 To bear him news from his remotest bounds.
 They come---deliver their commission high,
 And straight the heated pathway glows beneath
 The hoofs of their impatient steeds once more.

Astronomy, of sciences the king:
 Most high, most intricate, enlarging theme !
 All other science in thy presence shrinks
 To book-worm lore. Thou shinest prime and fresh
 With the baptismal blessing of the skies:
 Almost divine; and yet thou canst not tell
 Whence comes yon long-haired regent, where
 His burning chariot shall desist and cool.
 Shines he by pale reflection nebulous —
 A mighty phantom of resplendent mist,
 Or does he bear of light and vital heat,
 A primogenial fountain in his breast?
 His people, what are they?—all, all unknown:
 His path, his use, lie hidden in the breast
 Of unrevealed divinity alone,

Keep on, mysterious traveler. Tread out
 With equal pace your radiant journey round
 The great controlling orb. Not by self power
 Innate, primordial, and underived,
 Or laws of motion dimly traced by man,
 But that the Lord God hath commanded thus.
 Straight as a line, mid space and fixed stars,
 Retreating worlds and fierce astonished suns,
 Your vast ellipsis draw. Thought cannot reach
 Your rapid motion: Centuries elapse
 Ere thou wilt visit yonder sun again;
 So long thy wondrous circuit lasts; so wide
 The measureless extension of thy path.

A POEM.

SUNG AT THE OPENING OF CEDAR GROVE CEMETERY.

On Lebanon the cedars wave
Majestic praise to God.
Praise is the burden of the hills,
And of the lonely sod.

We enter, Lord, these forest depths,
Our nobler praise to bring;
Of vanquished sin, of conquered death,
Of endless life we sing.

Descend, O sovereign God ! and move
These cedars with thy sound;
Spake all the boughs—illumine the grove,
And consecrate our ground.

Send down selectest Cherubin,
These walls, these shades to keep;
With harps of heavenly sound to charm—
Our loved ones while they sleep.

The clay that once a soul possessed,
Is not a common clod;
O leave in sacred peace to rest,
The workmanship of God !

Yon lake serene—this fair retreat—
We yield them to the dead;
These echoes to the requiem sweet,
And to the mourner's tread.

Far, far from these green isles retire,
All sounds of strife and feud;
No mirth profane, no wild desire
On these still bowers intrude.

Oft may the resurrection hymn,
Here publish mercy's plan;
And God amid these garden tombs,
Come down to walk with man.

QUEBEC.

Where the great Lake-river bends,
 Where St. Charles' wave descends;
 Where each bold advancing shore,
 Threatens to shut up the door;
 Where the Diamond crags* we greet--
 Hail to thy transcendant seat,
 O, Quebec !

Mountain city ! on thy towers,
 Sunset pours its golden showers;
 Roofs and spires scintillant throw,
 Brilliance in the world below,
 While the fortress greets the stars--
 Gray old ghosts of ancient wars,
 O, Quebec !

Winding upward from thy strand,
 All around is fairy land.
 See the white sails onward glide !
 Hamlets stretched along the tide--
 Orleans anchored in the stream--
 Montmorence's distant gleam--
 O, Quebec !

On this cape of sparkling stone,
 Erst an Indian village shone;
 Ere the roving bold Champlain,
 Here began the gallic reign;
 He, the father of New France,
 Wreathed the lilies round the lance,
 O, Quebec !

*Quebec is built upon a promontory of rock, which projects into the St. Lawrence, at the junction of the St. Charles. It was originally called Cape Diamond, probably from the shining particles in the stones which composed the cliffs.

Nature seemed to say Build here,
 Face the rivers, guard the rear;
 Hang the castle in the air,
 Cap the hill with fortress fair;
 Let the city downward glide,
 Winning footholds from the tide,
 O, Quebec!

Many a grand heroic name,
 Here hath won the wreath of fame;
 Frontignac and great Montcalm,
 Gave these cliffs a storied charm,
 Ere thy massive bulwarks shone,
 Mid the towers of Britain's throne,
 O, Quebec!

Here the pillar, helm and sword,
 Wolfe's immortal name record;
 Down the stream he came by night,
 Through this glen he gained the height,
 On these rugged sods he fell—
 Dying drank from yonder well—
 O, Quebec!

In a deeper gorge below,
 Crimson lay the matted snow;
 Where Montgomery's laurels grew,
 Bloomless, steeped in midnight dew;
 Wolfe in glory :—in defeat
 Fell Montgomery at thy feet,
 O, Quebec!

THE FIELD OF GLORY.

ENGLAND AND AMERICA SEPARATED IN 1776, REUNITED IN 1858.

The lightning speaks—it conquers time—
 All hearts are thrilled with deep emotion;
 It conquers space—thought grows sublime,
 And whispers, “Now subdue the ocean,

Let worlds be linked,—the East and West,
 The Red Cross with the Stars of Heaven;
 Down where the billows sink to rest,
 Let hands be joined, the pledge be given.”

But theory said it could not be,
 And wisdom doubtless stood and wondered,
 Experience laughed with faithless glee—
 Yet science hoped, e'en while she blundered.

'Tis done :—the problem has been wrought—
 Ring forth the loud hilarious story;
 Tubes through th' abyss are pouring *thought*,
 And covering the great *Field* with glory.

WASHINGTON IN RETIREMENT.

They are the great, the truly great,
 In purpose firm, in act divine,
 Who all the pomp and power of state,
 Serenely us they took, resign.

And Washington—thou matchless star,
 The bright Arcturus of our zone!
 O'er sages, patriots, sons of war,
 Ascending still thy glory shone.

O'er thine the triumph high enrolled,
 Above all kings or kingly strife,
 Around thy sacred breast to fold,
 The majesty of private life,

Too great to seek the world's renown,
 Too pure to take ambition's vow,
 Thy country's love was all the crown,
 That glittered on thine honored brow.

The music of a nation's praise,
 Swept after thy retiring feet,
 And seeded with undying lays,
 Majestic Vernon's calm retreat.

And still through all these sacred bounds,
 The echoes of thy glory run;
 The earth beneath our feet resounds,
 In solemn heart-beats Washington.

We tread where once the hero trod;
 His sacred shade seems passing by;
 And musing on his trust in God,
 We learn like him to look on high.

With gifts of love, O Sage! we come!
 Wake every heart, sound every string!
 Redemption for this hallowed tomb,
 Price for these priceless halls we bring.

Rise up, ye fair! work heart and hand!
 Redeem these shades and make them free;
 For Vernon is our Holy Land,
 And this our year of Jubilee.

THE NEW YEAR.

Another year has fled!—another link
 That binds the present to the past is gone!
 Life's bark is speeding onward to the brink
 That marks the bounds of time, beyond whose bourn
 No weary traveller turns his backward way,
 On the vast ocean of Eternity.

The *Past*! How deep the record that appears
 Indelibly upon the heart engraven;—
 The Future—joy illumined or dimmed with tears,
 Shadowed with gloom or bright with hopes of heaven,
 Fills up the blank on Life's unwritten page,
 Memento keeping of Man's pilgrimage.

And thus we change the ever varying scene,
 Between the cradle and the silent tomb;
 Alternate clouds and sunshine intervene,
 Beaming with smiles of joy or dark with gloom,
 While Hope, sweet angel, hovers o'er the way,
 And gilds e'en sorrow with her lovely ray.

As o'er the Past with retrospective power.
 Our thoughts revert, to mercies kindly given,
 What numerous blessings as we count them o'er
 Have marked the passing year :—benignant Heaven
 Life's pathway oft hath kindly strewn with flowers
 And favors free as Summer's generous showers.

The Future—who would dare withdraw the veil
 That shrouds the future from all mortal ken?
 What hand would dare to break the mystic seal
 That God has set upon the affairs of men?
 Enough for us to know, a *Father's* eye
 His children's steps attend through life's dark way.

Then trusting Faith, with joy serene may rest,
On his kind arm, omnipotent to save;—
Lean, like the loved apostle on the breast
Of him whose smile sheds radiance o'er the grave—
Confiding sweetly in the promise given,
In joyful prospect of the bliss of Heaven.

May these blest rills of purest pleasure flow,
Dear Friends and Patrons, in each happy breast,
“ *A Happy New Year* ” unalloyed by woe—
Be yours its highest hopes, its richest zest,—
Yours many *future* years of peace and love,—
Yours the triumphant joys of Heaven above !



Ashbel Woodward

M E M O I R

OF

ASHBEL WOODWARD, M. D.

The death of Ashbel Woodward, M. D.,* of Franklin, Conn., Dec. 20, 1885, closed a long, laborious and an eminently useful career. Dr. Woodward was born June 26, 1804, in Willington, Conn., the ancestral farm lying on the border line, partly in that town and partly in Ashford. Graduating at the Medical Department of Bowdoin College in May, 1829, he settled two months later in Franklin, where he continued to reside till the end.

As a physician Dr. Woodward was noted for quickness and accuracy of perception. In the sick room nothing escaped his attention. He was especially successful in desperate cases, detecting with the rapidity of intuition the slightest change in the condition of the patient, and anticipating every emergency.

The estimation in which he was held by medical brethren is shown by the trusts confided to him, and the distinctions conferred upon him. Besides filling many other positions, he was, from 1858 to 1861, president of the Connecticut Medical Society. His annual addresses on "Life;" "Medical Ethics," and "An Historical Sketch" of the Society, attracted much attention at the time, and are still remembered. He was also from its formation an active and deeply interested member of the American Medical Association, and an honorary member of several state societies.†

*Ashbel Woodward was the seventh in descent from Richard Woodward, who embarked in the ship Elizabeth at Ipswich, England, April 10, 1634, and whose name is on the earliest list of proprietors of Watertown, Mass. The Woodward genealogy is given in Dr. Henry Bond's History of Watertown.

†He was long a Vice President of the Connecticut Historical Society; a Vice President of the New London County Historical Society from its formation till his death; and a Corresponding Member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and of the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain.

In the early days of the Rebellion he was appointed by Gov. Buckingham one of the board to examine surgeons for the volunteer regiments of the state. Into the conflict for the preservation of the Union he threw his feelings and efforts with the ardor which characterized all his undertakings. As the drain upon the resources of the country became more pronounced, he decided to go to the front himself, and as surgeon of the Twenty-sixth Connecticut shared in the siege and capture of Port Hudson. He was then nearly sixty years of age, and his friends attempted to discourage the purpose on the ground that he was too old to bear the privations and hardships of life in camp. Indeed the warnings nearly proved true, for on his return home, after serving out the term of enlistment, he was long and dangerously ill with malarial fever.

Although driven with professional work, Dr. Woodward in some way found time to accomplish much with the pen. In addition to the addresses already referred to, he contributed numerous papers which are preserved in the "Proceedings" annually published by the Connecticut Medical Society. At the request of the family of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, he prepared a biography of that early martyr for the Union, whose skill as a soldier was not less conspicuous than his devotion as a patriot. He had previously written a memoir of Col. Thomas Knowlton, a grand-uncle of Gen. Lyon on the maternal side. Col. Knowlton commanded the continentals stationed behind the rail fence at Bunker Hill, and was killed in battle at Harlem Heights, September 16, 1776. Joel Munsell, of Albany, in 1878, published a small volume written by Dr. Woodward, upon "Wampum"—a subject to which he had given long attention. As a member of the committee of arrangements, he took an active part in the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the town of Norwich, Sept. 7th and 8th, 1859, and for the book containing the records of that event, furnished the paper on the "Early Physicians of Norwich."

October 14, 1868, the Congregational Church of Franklin celebrated the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its organization, when Dr. Woodward delivered the historical address. This was afterwards expanded into a "History of Franklin."

Dr. Woodward had great fondness for local historical, and especially for genealogical investigations. His knowledge of the lineages of old New England families was extensive and at instant command. His writings on this class of subjects are to be found in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, and in other publications.

During life he was a collector of rare books, pamphlets, coins, Indian relics and autographs. In accumulating a library he made a specialty of town and county histories, and of monographs on important events.*

In the early autumn of 1879 the neighbors of Dr. Woodward, on a sudden impulse, improvised a social gathering to celebrate the semi-centennial anniversary of his settlement among them. Informal verbal invitations were passed from one to another to meet at his residence on the afternoon of September 5th. Short as was the notice, people came in throngs from near and far till the house was filled, while the overflow mingled in conversation on the lawns and beneath the trees without. Some drove fifteen miles and more. The enclosures, swarming with vehicles and animated groups, presented an appearance as picturesque as it was unusual. The day proved to be one of rare beauty, cool for the season, coming and going in cloudless splendor. Floral testimonials decorated the tables, including several of rare flowers and of elaborate arrangement.

As the shadows from the western hills began to fall across the valley, the Rev. C. F. Jones, from the front steps, in the presence of the guests, addressed Dr. Woodward in a few sentences expressive of the esteem and affection of the community.

I have been commissioned to the pleasant duty of making the presentation address to you. You have outlived nearly all who began practice with you as your cotemporaries. To have lived long is a distinction, but to have lived well is a still greater distinction, and that distinction we regard as yours. Few occupations afford more opportunities for doing good than that of a physician. We recognize your sincerity, integrity and professional enthusiasm. In summer and winter, sunshine and storm, by night and by day, you have gone over these hills and through these valleys, seeking to relieve distress, prolonging many lives and affording much happiness. Faithful, true and self-sacrificing, you have endeared yourself to many, and it is with thanks that we gather here to-day. We desire to recognize your services in public affairs, educational,

*Dr. Woodward was one of the most thorough and reliable of our New England antiquaries. He had accumulated a vast fund of information upon family and local history, particularly of his native state, which he was always ready to communicate to those engaged in investigating these subjects. He took much interest in the New England Historical Genealogical Society, of which he was elected a corresponding member in 1853. He manifested his interest in the REGISTER by subscribing for two copies of the work and contributing many valuable papers for its pages.—John Ward Dean in HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER.

civil and religious. Through your writings, professional skill and reputation, you have honored this community. It is with sentiments of this kind that I am commissioned to present to you this testimonial of our affection, esteem and enduring friendship. May it be an emblem of the strong, unbending attachment of those gathered here.

Dr. Woodward was then presented with an elegant gold headed ebony cane. On it was engraved:

1829.
Presented to
ASHBEL WOODWARD, M. D.,
as a memorial
of 50 years
of professional
service
1879.

In accepting the gift, the recipient with much feeling made a few personal remarks, substantially as follows :

I came here fifty years ago with an uncertain future before me, but I desired success only on the condition that I should be fully qualified for the practice of my profession, and should so discharge its duties as to entitle me to the favor of my employers. I posted no bills; I had no runners; I did not advertise. I procured a shingle, but did not put it out. I never sought business. The favors which came were spontaneous. But I do not stand here to boast. My career with you has been a living epistle to be read by all. And now I desire to thank you most sincerely for the gift which you have placed in my hands. Nothing could be more appropriate for an antediluvian to lean upon than a trusty staff. I shall esteem it a precious reminder of your favor.

Hon. LaFayette S. Foster, a native of Franklin and ex-United States Senator, then added a few words appropriate to the occasion, after which refreshments were served.

During the active career of Dr. Woodward, great changes were effected in the distribution of the intellectual and social energies of New England. In relative importance and prosperity the country towns steadily declined. Early in the century divines of conspicuous ability labored contentedly in rural parishes, while

physicians of eminent skill found ample scope for ambition in serving the scattered population around them. Meanwhile the development of manufactures and the construction of railways have accomplished a revolution. Shadowed by growing cities, rural communities must now struggle to avoid palpable retrogression. So preponderant are the centrifugal forces, that from many the old family names, with their traditions and pride, have well nigh disappeared. Dr. Woodward preferred rural scenes. Located in a quadrangular valley of remarkable beauty, amid orchards and vines of his own planting, devoted to his profession and to his home, he could heartily quote the remark often repeated by the venerable Samuel Nott, D. D., whose residence crowned the neighboring hill, and whose pastorate in Franklin, beginning in 1782, covered a period of sixty-five years, "Our lines are cast in pleasant places."

There are solid reasons for believing that the fortunes of our country towns will ere long experience a marked and permanent revival. Indeed, at various points the improvement has already made substantial headway. The West, which has remorselessly drained us of our youth, is filling up. She no longer offers boundless areas of virgin soil to tempt immigration. At home the financial extravagance displayed in the government of cities, enhancing both directly and indirectly the cost of living, will more and more direct attention to the fair fields and limpid brooks once threatened with desertion. What is lost in the heroic virtues by the withdrawal of the hard conditions of the past, will be made up by the growing cultivation of the beautiful. Gardens will bloom, art will be pursued, homes will be made lovely, the surroundings of life will become attractive, where communities now find difficulty in keeping alive the religious and educational institutions established by the fathers.

From early manhood Dr. Woodward was a member of the Congregational Church of Franklin, and never wearied in efforts to sustain and strengthen it. He was not only a devout but also an unquestioning believer in the teachings of Christianity. His last Sunday on earth found him in his accustomed place, officiating as deacon.

During his long term of active service Dr. Woodward ministered in sickness to at least six successive generations, and from the beginning to the end commanded the unqualified confidence of his clientage. Often appealed to for counsel and guidance, he was never known to discuss or even mention a matter that came to his knowledge in the sacredness of professional intercourse.

Scrupulous in performing the work of each day, thorough in all undertakings, intolerant of sham and pretense, direct in aims and methods, he pursued uncompromisingly the paths marked out by his conceptions of duty. In some respects he seemed to belong more to a former age than to the present. On the maternal side inheriting from a clerical ancestry the stern theological opinions of early New England, Dr. Woodward himself in beliefs, sympathies and character, was a marked survival of the Puritans.

His wife (Emeline Bicknell), to whom he was married in May, 1832, with two sons, survive him.

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Thomas L. Shipman

M E M O I R

OF THE

REV. THOMAS LEFFINGWELL SHIPMAN.

In 1693, Edward Shipman, the first of his name in New England, died at Saybrook. In that same year his former townsman, Lieut. Thomas Leffingwell, of Norwich, already in the sixties, was about to engage with vigor in a new business, tavern keeping, while Joseph Coit, of New London, had before him still seven years of shipbuilding in this mortal life.

The interest of Mr. Shipman's ancestry clusters about these three names. For fifty years after the death of the first Edward Shipman, his family seems to have lived and multiplied in Saybrook, good citizens and undistinguished. About 1750 a young Shipman named Nathaniel (he was in the Saybrook train band, 1745,) moved to Norwich. By his marriage with Elizabeth Leffingwell, he became the father of a son, a second Nathaniel; and this "honored and exemplary son of Norwich," as Miss Caulkins calls him—silversmith and judge of the county and probate courts—became the father of Thomas L., by his marriage with Abigail Coit. The mother's ancestry is traced more easily than the father's. It runs through Benjamin, farmer in Griswold, and judge of the county court,—“a sincere and conscientious man;” Col. Samuel, farmer and judge of the county court; Rev. Joseph, pastor of Plainfield; Joseph, shipbuilder at New London; John, shipwright of New London, who is first mentioned at Salem in 1638, having immigrated from Glamorganshire, Wales.

No one, however, who knew Mr. Shipman well can forget that he was especially proud of his Christian name, which came to him from his grandfather, the fourth Thomas Leffingwell in direct descent. His uncle, the fifth Thomas, died a bachelor, and the nephew was wont to consider himself most clearly the perpetuator of the honorable name.

Mr. Shipman was born in Norwich, August 28, 1798. On both sides of his house the bent of the family had been towards civic life, and yet in the mother's family sincere piety was so united to an emotional intensity, derived perhaps, from Welsh forefathers, that it could very easily develop the pastor and preacher. And in God's providence this came to pass, and so in 1814, the boy was sent to Yale college. In due time, he went to Andover Seminary, graduating in 1821. The six years following were years of indecision, caused in part by "a nervous self-distrust," which kept him from accepting a regular pastorate, and in part by an enthusiasm for the Home Missionary work. Urged on by this enthusiasm, he went in 1821 to South Carolina, and again, after two years of "supply" in various parts of Connecticut to Ohio, at that time missionary ground. In the latter part of 1825, however, he was ordained and installed pastor of the First Church of Southbury, Conn., and here he remained ten years, being obliged by long illness in his family, to resign at the end of that time. His pastorate at Southbury was characterized, as indeed his whole life was, by a "quickly excited and lasting enthusiasm in everything that belonged to the life of a minister. He believed in preaching with all his heart. It was God's way of saving men." Three revivals in the ten years testified prominently that his heartfelt preaching had power to win response from other hearts. After leaving Southbury he preached 1837-41 at Bozrah, and 1842-54 at Jewett City, accepting a call to settle at Jewett City after a year's delay, in 1843. He resigned on account of a shattered nervous system, and did not take another parish during the rest of his life, but continued, for the most of the time, to live on his beautiful estate on the banks of the Quinebaug. Seldom has there been a man, however, who did less "rusting out." He supplied, for periods ranging from two Sundays to eight months, thirty congregations in the eastern counties of the state, and preached till almost the last Sunday of his eighty-eight years. It was during this time that he gradually became "Father Shipman" all over the state; through no ecclesiastical denominating or tie of blood, but through instinctive reliance on the warm sympathy and benignancy which his growing age gave to all ages. He had, as the Rev. W. B. Clarke has said of him in his admirable "Memorial," a genius for geniality. It beamed from his eyes and every line of his ruddy face, from every impetuous movement of his bent but sturdy form, most of all when he sat and faced his visitor with kindly gaze, eagerly awaiting some revelation of character, or when he himself poured out with utmost en-

joyment his rich collection of reminiscences. In remarkable combination, he loved his fellow-men with the stern love of the Jewish prophet, and also with that lower non-moral love to which "all the world's a stage." In this latter sense, he loved human nature in all its ways—its virtues, its faults, its oddities, its varied joys and vexations. Having this temperament, he loved life, and was ardently sympathetic with individual lives. As a preacher, he was, perhaps, too easily excitable, too universally intense. He lacked the power which comes by a slow, strong nature at last aroused. But no such abatements reduce the fruits of his sympathy and genial benevolence. He easily won affection and more than affection. The sunshine of his presence cheered, warmed and expanded many hearts wherever he went. Father Shipman was one of the number whose influence was not left measurable in bricks or by the strength of reformatory movements; and so it is hard to give an adequate idea of the place he filled in his state and generation. His life is like the sunshine indeed, which was here and is gone, but remains the life of many. Being dead, he yet speaketh.

He died August 29, 1886, and was buried at Jewett City. He had been married twice. His first wife was Mary T., daughter of Gen. David Deming and Abby Champion. Their only child, Nathaniel, born August 22, 1828, is the present judge of the U. S. District Court for Connecticut. His second wife was Mrs. Parmela Coit, daughter of Dr. Josiah Fuller, of Plainfield. By her he had two children—Lydia Leffingwell (married Dr. George W. Avery) who died at Hartford, May 15, 1883, at the age of thirty-seven years, and Thomas Leffingwell, who died in infancy.

M E M O I R

OF THE

HON. WILLIAM H. STARR.

William Holt Starr was born in the town of Groton, May 27, 1808. He was a lineal descendant of Dr. Comfort Starr, who emigrated from Ashford, County of Kent, England, March 21, 1634, and made his residence at New Towne (Cambridge) where his name frequently appears in the records, and a copy of whose will may be found in the Probate Office of Suffolk Co., at Boston, Mass.

His father, Elisha Starr, was a farmer, and during his early years he worked on the little farm during the summer and attended school in the winter, as was the custom of farmer's boys at that time. He was always fond of reading, and the first money he ever earned he expended for a book and trudged home over the hills perfectly happy in the possession of his treasure. At the age of eighteen he taught the district school in his native town, and afterwards opened a small store, selling such goods as were required in a country store at that time. He married Frelove Hurlbut Williams, October 7, 1833 and in 1883 celebrated his golden wedding, together with his brother Charles, who was married at the same time. He removed to New York in 1838, and engaged in the publication of a newspaper in which he was assisted by the brilliant, gifted Edgar A. Poe, and his anecdotes of the erratic genius were always interesting and enjoyable. He afterwards entered into mercantile life, and was a partner in one of the largest and most successful houses in the manufacture and sale of all kinds of lamps, chandeliers and gas fixtures, in which he amassed a competence. Returning to New London he built a fine residence on Winthrop's Neck, laying out and improving that section of the city, which at that time was rough untilled land. The entire square, which is now covered with houses, was tastefully laid out with lawns, summer house, grapery, green-houses,

etc. He also built Sky Grove Cottage, and was mainly instrumental in securing the building of the bridge across the cove which has proved such a convenience to the residents of that section of the city.

Becoming interested in coal mining, he was owner of valuable mines in Pennsylvania, organized the Star Coal and Iron Company, of which he was president and manager.

Reverses finally came in the days of depression which followed the war, and the fortune which he had acquired by years of toil and care was swept away from him, and he was left penniless, and obliged in his old age to begin again at the foot of the ladder. The cheerfulness and resolution with which he did this, and the enterprise and spirit which he showed can be told by those who knew him well. His industry was untiring, and to the last days of his life his light which shone out from the windows of his room until the wee sma' hours was a beacon to the neighborhood.

His patience and endurance under suffering were simply marvelous. When racked by severest pain he was always ready to listen to those who came to him for advice and comfort, and very rarely did a word of complaint pass his lips.

He was eminently a religious man, and was deacon of a church in Orange, where he resided for a time while engaged in business in New York, and also of the First Church of Christ in New London for several years. He was a liberal contributor to all religious and charitable objects, supporting a teacher to the Freedmen during the war, and building a chapel in East New London. As a numismatist he was widely known through the country and his collection of coins, begun many years ago, were a source of great pleasure to him. He had a great fondness for making collections of various objects, and the weary hours in which he was confined to his room were solaced by these occupations. He published in 1858-1862 the *Repository*, a weekly journal, more as a recreation than as a business venture. He was greatly interested in horticulture, and together with the late Charles Lewis, Esq., imported the first European Larches that were ever grown here. He published a book on Pear Culture, the illustrations of which were drawn and colored by himself from fruit which he raised.

He took a great interest in politics and represented his town in the Legislature, both as Representative and Senator. As a legislator he was careful, conservative and conscientious. He was chairman of a committee for the establishment of meteorological observations in this state, and in 1858 recommended an appropria-

tion for this purpose, and proposed that the money be applied for the purchase of instruments and fixtures for stations which might be established in the state, and for erecting the same. This was the first step taken in this state toward the excellent system which now gives warning of storms and predicts the state of the weather. He also served his city as Alderman, and was for several years Commissioner of Charities. In the centennial year he published a historical sketch of New London. The President issued a proclamation recommending every town in the union to furnish a Centennial Historical Sketch of its history during the previous century for preservation in our state and national archives, as a fitting memorial of the past, and a tribute to posterity. Mr. Starr undertook to do this and published it at his own expense.

The founding of the New London County Historical Society was an object of great interest to him, and he devoted much time and attention to it, and was deeply interested in its welfare, and he was the secretary of the Society from 1874 till his death. Its present prosperity is largely due to him. Indeed, so interested was he that one of the members exclaimed that "William H. Starr was *the* Historical Society." During the last years of his life he was engaged in the insurance business.

His end was sudden but painless. He died at the close of a lovely day in April, Sunday afternoon, after a happy, restful day, and leaves a tender memory in the hearts of those who loved him, and the record of a stainless life as their inheritance.



HON. WILLIAM H. POTTER.

M E M O I R

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. POTTER.

William H. Potter was born at Potter Hill, R. I., Aug. 26, 1816. He was the lineal descendant in the sixth generation of Nathaniel Potter, who emigrated from England, and was admitted an inhabitant of the Island of Aquidneck, R. I., in 1638. April 30, 1639, he and twenty-eight others signed the following compact: "We, whose names are underwritten, do acknowledge ourselves the legal subjects of his Majesty, King Charles, and in his name do bind ourselves into a civil body politic unto his laws according to matters of justice." George Potter, the great grandfather of William H., was the first to settle on the banks of the Pawcatuck River, where is now the village of Potter Hill, (which takes its name from the original proprietors), and was there engaged in business as a merchant and manufacturer. He was succeeded in business by his son Joseph, who built the first cotton mill in that region; engaged in some commercial adventures in vessels he helped to build and fit for sea, and was a successful business man. He had five sons, all of whom grew to manhood, married and had families. Col. Henry Potter, the third son of Joseph, and father of William H., early in life developed a taste for military affairs. He was adjutant and afterwards colonel of the Third Rhode Island Regiment, and held a battalion in readiness awaiting orders to aid the men who fought the battle of Stonington. By reason of his skill in military tactics he was selected to conduct a military school at his home, during the latter period of the war, for which purpose he used an unoccupied story in his father's factory. In 1812 he married Anna Babcock, daughter of Daniel, a lineal descendant of the first white settler in the town of Westerly, R. I. In 1820, he removed with his family to Waterford, Conn., to engage in manufacturing, which he continued until a few years prior to his death, being highly respected and honored by his fellow townsmen, by whom he was chosen to hold the several offices of selectman, justice of the peace, school visitor and Representative in the State

Legislature, all of which he filled with credit to himself and honor to the town. He was a man of unquestioned integrity, prompt and punctual in all his business relations, conscientious and religious in his life, and at his death left the legacy of a good name to his posterity. William H. Potter, his only son, was educated in the common schools of Waterford, and at Dr. Ulysses Dow's grammar school in New London, going thence to Bacon Academy, Colchester, in 1833, where he had as classmates and friends Lyman Trumbull, afterwards Senator from Illinois, and Morrison R. Waite, afterwards Chief Justice of the United States. He was graduated in 1836 as valedictorian, and entered Yale College in the same year. Before the close of his collegiate course, his health and eyesight failing, he was compelled to give up close study, which prevented him from being graduated with his class, but because of his literary attainments as a scholar, he received from his alma mater the honorary degree of A. M. Soon after leaving college he became a teacher, his first attempt being in the district school at Waterford. Afterwards he taught a select school at Newbury Vale, and in 1840 he became principal of the Mystic River graded school and there married his wife, the daughter of Deacon Elisha Rathbun, who, with two daughters, Mrs. S. S. Thresher, of Norwich, and Mrs. Horace W. Fish, of New York, survive him. On account of frequent attacks of quinsy Mr. Potter left Connecticut and spent four years, 1851-1855 in the more genial climate of the South, teaching in Mississippi, as principal of the Brandon Academy, where he was highly esteemed as a man, and because of his success as a teacher. Returning to Connecticut at the end of four years, much improved in health, he resumed teaching as principal in the graded schools at Mystic River, in which position he remained until in 1865, just prior to the assassination of President Lincoln. He was appointed by him United States Assistant Assessor of Internal Revenue, which office he continued to hold until 1869, when he resigned it to become a member of the Legislature as Representative from the town of Groton. In 1872 he was Senator from the Seventh Senatorial District, and as chairman of the Committee on Education took a leading part in moulding the entire educational code of the state, revising every law pertaining to colleges, academies, common and normal schools. He was punctilious in his attendance upon his legislative duties, kept his own time, and refused to accept pay for the time he was absent, as his father, Col. Potter, had done before him while a member of the Legislature. This is mentioned only as an example of his

scrupulous honesty and careful conformity to truth in all his business relations. In 1872 he was elected by the Legislature, a member of the Board of Education and trustee of the Normal school, and in 1876 was re-elected to the same offices, although a large majority of both houses of the Legislature of that year were of the opposite party to that of which he was a member. His election to these important and responsible positions were not regarded by him as merely complimentary, nor were their duties light, as he made it a point to be present at all the meetings of the board, and bore a part in the discussions and in solving practical questions which were constantly coming before it; and he was uniformly present at the Normal school commencements. A practical teacher was needed among the eminent men constituting the board, and his long experience in that position, and as a school visitor qualified him in an eminent degree to supply that need, and made his suggestions of great value to his associates. Dr. Northrup, for many years secretary of the board, and who became eminent in connection with our school system, bore witness to Mr. Potter's faithfulness and usefulness during the eight years of his service as a member. He was for many years a justice of the peace, and at one time first selectman of the town of Groton, and in 1876 was elected Judge of Probate for the district of Groton, which office he held by repeated elections until shortly prior to his death. In politics he was originally a Whig, casting his first vote for Governor W. W. Ellsworth, and at the same time voting for Maj. Thos. W. Williams of New London for member of Congress. At that time in order to be made a freeman it was necessary to be the owner of real estate. He continued his connection with the Whig party until its final dissolution, when he transferred his allegiance to the Republican party, to which he continued a steadfast adherent during the remainder of his life, though never so blindly partisan that he could see no good in any one of opposite politics.

He made profession of religion in his youth, and was a consistent member of the church until his death, being for more than forty years a deacon in the Union Baptist Church of Mystic River, and a teacher in its Sunday school. He was for twenty years clerk of the Stonington Union Association and later its corresponding secretary. For many years he was statistical secretary of the Baptist State Convention, and one of the board of managers. He was also for several years a trustee of the Connecticut Literary Institution at Suffield, and at one time one of the examining board. Very early in life he began to keep a diary of passing events which he

continued during his whole life, filling many large volumes and containing an immense fund of information of great value, which could now hardly be obtained from any other source, and the importance of which must increase as time advances. Judge Potter always took a lively interest in all public matters, among which may be mentioned the centennial celebration of the massacre on Groton Heights, September 6, 1881, in which he bore an active part, and the erection of a statue to the memory of Maj. John Mason, and the brave men under his command, on Pequot Hill, towards the accomplishment of which it may be said without disparagement to others who took an active part in the work, he did more than any other. One of the last acts of his life, of a pathetic character, was a journey to Hartford and appearance before a legislative committee to advocate an appropriation for the completion of this monument, and an appropriate celebration of its unveiling, which he did not live to witness. He was one of the constituent members of the New London County Historical Society; took an active interest in its welfare and the promotion of its success, making it a point to attend its meetings when his health permitted. He had much tact and patience in extracting from the venerable men and women of the last generation, much valuable historical matter, and anecdotes, which would otherwise have been entirely lost. Much of this information he published from time to time in the local papers, afterwards gathered up and pasted in voluminous scrap books, which give evidence of his patience and diligence.

He died March 28, 1887, at his home in the village of Mystic River, mourned by all who knew him, and in proportion to the intimacy of their acquaintance with him. Now that he has passed away his friends have just cause to be proud of his character, and of his conduct in whatever capacity he was called to act. He took a generous view of his contemporaries, and his favorite motto, which he had framed and conspicuously hung in his office as a gentle hint to all having occasion to call on business or sociably, was "*Aut bonum aut nil.*" In the cause of temperance, of religion, of education, and of general benevolence he maintained a conspicuous position, and he was noted for his generous hospitality. He wrote several historical sketches of churches and communities, numerous biographical notes and some respectable verses, that have been printed, and was a reporter for various papers during the whole period of his life after attaining manhood. His valuable assistance to the author of the "History of the Baptists" was appropriately acknowledged in that work. Another qualification

he possessed in an eminent degree was that of a peacemaker. Many differences were brought to a happy settlement, and disaffection among brethren removed by his counsel, and being well informed in the principles of the common law, with a mind quick to discern the equities of a case, his opinions were sought, and often prevailed to prevent litigation, and perhaps in this character he was best known, and will be longest and most kindly remembered.

DESCRIPTION

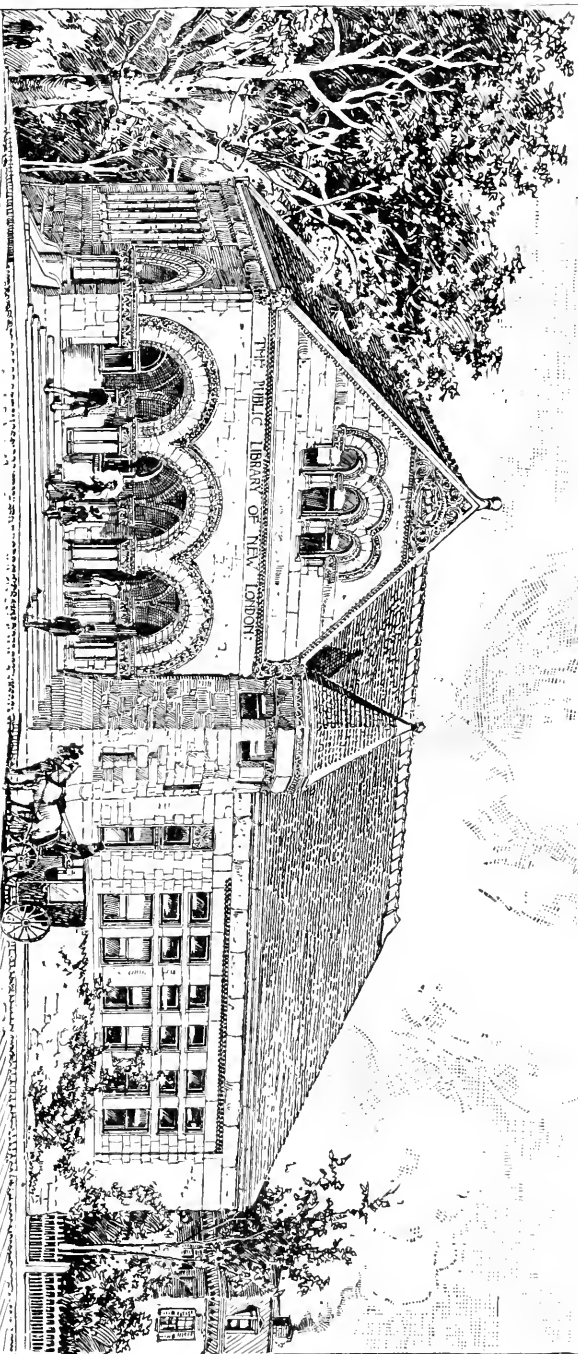
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IN WHICH THE ROOMS OF THE NEW LONDON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ARE LOCATED.

The massive and dignified railroad station on the "Shore Line," at New London, Connecticut, built from designs of the late Henry Hobson Richardson two or three years ago, may be said to have begun an architectural "revival" which is still going on in the pretty city by the Thames. One of its latest manifestations is the Public Library (to be finished next year) now constructing from the plans and under the supervision of Mr. Richardson's successors, Messrs. Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, of Boston. The creation of the library building is due to the trustees of the late Henry P. Haven, of New London, who, in 1876 left his property in trust until 1890, one-third of its income and principal to be expended for charitable and benevolent purposes under the direction and according to the discretion of his trustees. It is not, however, to be directly associated with Mr. Haven's name, but when completed will be presented to the Public Library Association of the city. Every one interested will thus feel free to aid in enriching its contents. The architects, for their part, have been eminently successful in designing a structure worthy to be a storehouse of the best literature.

The site is a pleasant slope practically in the centre of the city, at the junction of two broad, elm-bowered streets, Huntington and State, the latter being the chief business thoroughfare, but bordered at this point—at its head, and near the quaint eighteenth century Court house—with handsome dwellings and gardens. The sloping ground gives opportunity for a large and convenient basement, dry and well lighted. From the front the building (40 by



From Harper's Weekly.

THE NEW LONDON PUBLIC LIBRARY.

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90 feet) presents somewhat the appearance of one tall story with a high sloping roof, although in reality there are two stories, as may be seen by the gable, pierced with three arched windows, over which appears a carved stone tympanum bearing the arms of New London—a ship under full sail. It is fit that a city founded on granite should have a granite library; but in this case the granite comes from Worcester, and has more of a pink tinge than the local stone. The trimmings of Kibbe sandstone will form an effective combination with the rock-face, random-jointed ashlar of granite, and the color effect will be further heightened by the use of Akron tile on the roof. The entrance porch, formed of three groined vaults, with wide arches opening on Huntington street, and another arch on the State street side, is especially commendable for its beauty and strength; and a picturesque pointed tower to the right of the porch, enclosing a staircase to the upper story, lends height and variety to the facade.

The interior arrangements are excellent. The delivery room, entered from the porch, is nearly in the middle of the building, with a magazine room at the rear, and on the left a reading room lighted from three sides. It contains an elaborately carved stone fireplace, and will be panelled, both between the heavy beams of the ceiling and around the walls, to a height of thirteen feet, with quartered oak well rubbed, which forms the finish of all the lower rooms. To the right of the delivery room are the librarian's office and the spacious book room. The latter has an immediate capacity of 30,000 volumes, on the "stack" plan, bringing every book within easy reach of the arm, and the height of the stacks can be increased so as to accommodate 50,000. Every aisle between the stacks is flooded with light from the two sides of the room. The whole second story of the building is occupied by one large room, finished in fine Georgia pine, which will be the home of the New London County Historical Society. Mr. Shepley, the head of the firm of architects, is the son-in-law of Richardson, and Messrs. Rutan and Coolidge also practiced under the leadership of that eminent man. While they have drawn inspiration from him, they also manifest solid originality and artistic power; for the New London Library is hardly surpassed in excellence and charm of design by any building of similar size and purpose in this country.—Copied from Harper's Weekly of July 27, 1889, by permission of the Publishers and Author.

TAG RAG.

Come join with us ye tag rag throng,
 On this, our festal day;
 Be harmless mirth, and jovial song,
 The order of the day:
 Bid each vexatious care begone,
 Nor proud contempt deplore,
 Why should we be ashamed to own,
 We're tag, rag, and no more.

Our plains were red with tag rag blood,
 By British hirelings shed,
 Our hills with patriot bones were strewed,
 Where tag rag warriors bled:
 Come ye whose fathers bravely fought,
 Nor fear'd the cannon's roar,
 Why should we be ashamed to own,
 We're tag, rag, and no more.

Burgoyne's victorious legions bow'd,
 Before a tag rag band;
 Cornwallis, by tag rag arms subdued,
 And cheer'd a weeping land:
 Say veterans, whose victorious arms
 Drove tyrants from our shore,
 Why should we be asham'd to own
 We're tag, rag, and no more.

Fatigue and sickness, hunger, cold,
 Did tag rag bands endure,
 And pined in Jersey's nauseous hold*
 Our freedom to secure:
 Come ye and hear our grateful song,
 Who such affliction bore,
 Why should we be asham'd to own,
 We're tag, rag, and no more.

When tag rag labours had achieved
 Sweet liberty and peace,
 The tag rag soldier nought received—
 The well born gain'd the fleece:
 But freedom was your great reward,
 So brethren ne'er deplore,
 Nor ever be asham'd to own,
 We're tag, rag, and no more.

By tag rag hands our bread's procur'd,
 And useful arts improv'd,
 By freemen, those to toil inur'd—
 Will ever be belov'd:
 Cheer up ye pillars of the land,
 Nor upstart scorn deplore,
 Why should we be asham'd to own,
 We're tag, rag and no more

So let the pamper'd fop deride,
 The worth he cannot boast,
 In spite of strolling coxcomb's pride,
 Shall tag rag rule the roast:
 Then cheer ye freemen of the land,
 Nor proud contempt deplore,
 Why should we be asham'd to own,
 We're tag, rag, and no more.

*The Jersey Prison Ship.

This song of Tag Rag had its foundation in the remark of a British General at the beginning of the Revolution, the substance of which was to the effect that the English Army would make short work of such "tag rag" troops as the Colonies would muster. After years of disuse it was revived in the hot political campaigns of 1836, 1840, and 1844, and sung with other campaign melodies. The copy from which this is printed is one "revived by Jonathan Sizer, June 23, 1840."

NEW LONDON AND THE WAR OF 1812.

ADDRESS

BY

REV. EDWARD W. BACON,

BEFORE THE NEW LONDON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, NOVEMBER 24, 1879.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Historical Society:

I am about to tell you of the story of New London in the war of 1812, so far as it can be gathered at this late day from scant materials. And the most that I can hope to accomplish is, so to stir up your minds to remembrance and investigation that more material for such a study may speedily come into possession of the Society. At present there are still living a few survivors of that war. There are broken files of the *Connecticut Gazette*, then published by Samuel Green. I have come across a bound volume of the *Liverpool Mercury* for the years 1813-14, and there hangs in the Historical rooms an old cartridge box worn during the war. These, together with Miss Caulkins' invaluable History of New London, are the sources whence I have drawn knowledge and inspiration in hours stolen from an indulgent parish. It would detain you too long were I at this time, to express my thanks to the individuals of the former and the present generations who have so willingly assisted me. First, to understand my story you must remember what New London was in 1812.

The city had been twenty-eight years incorporated, but it was in reality only a village of about three thousand souls, a sluggish village too. From 1800 to 1810 there had been a very slight increase of population, and in the period of our story from 1810 to 1820 the population increased by only 148.

On the 18th day of May, 1812, the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council, (no small share of the voting population one would say,) enacted and advertised in the *Gazette*, "That no person or

persons be permitted to play at any game of *ball* in any street or lane within the city, lying within Coit's Cove, the east line of Huntington street and Mill Cove."

We may say, then, that there were few houses beyond Federal, Huntington and Brewer streets. The Court House, on its ancient site, stood quite at the edge of the city, with the town school house just north, between it and the then new Huntington Mansion.

The Almshouse, next the old burying ground, was quite out of town. The streets were ungraded; high knolls that have now disappeared, made Golden street, Union street, and Methodist street abrupt and precipitous, while in State street, now sloping from the Court House to the water, a hill arose in front of the First Church, and a frog pond stood in the hollow at the rear of the present Baptist Church. The great houses of the city must have been the Winthrop house, the Shaw house and the Huntington house. The business houses were on Bank and State streets, near the Parade, which was adorned by a market house in the center, and a jail at the foot by the water. There were four ecclesiastical edifices, the First Church of Christ, crowned Zion's Hill, with a wooden meeting house. St. James' Church stood on Main street at the corner of Church street, and both these edifices were twenty-five years old. On Golden street hill or Baptist Rocks stood the little Methodist chapel, while all through the war, indeed, from 1805 to 1815 the Baptist house of worship opposite the Methodist stood unfinished, the beams and rafters naked, and loose, rough planks the only seats. There was no steeple in the town; the two more important churches were finished with low towers; the town clock had but one pointer, which was enough for those plain times.

The unfrequent mail was opened at the Post office, in what is known now as the Otis House. The weekly *Gazette* (in the height of the war changed temporarily to a semi-weekly,) was to be had at the printer's, "next door to the Union Bank."

The Union School, (or Academy,) where Nathan Hale had taught, was in the red house, now opposite the Otis House, but then on the site of the Crocker House. The Town Mill was busy with grist far out on Main street, while beyond it the Winthrop Mansion stood in solitude.

The outward appearance of New London, down to a period considerably within the precincts of the present century, (says Miss Caulkins,) was homely and uninviting. The old town, burnt

by Arnold, could boast of very little elegance. Many of the buildings, through long acquaintance with time, were tottering on the verge of decay, and the houses that replaced them were hastily built by an impoverished people, and were, in general, plain, clumsy and of moderate dimensions. Neatness, elegance and taste were limited to a few conspicuous exceptions. Moreover the town had, temporarily, this disadvantage, that in approaching it either by land or water its best houses were not seen. It was therefore regarded by travellers as a mean and contemptible place. Within the periods in which steamboats traversed the Sound, a passenger standing by as the boat came up the harbor, exclaimed with energy: "If I only had the money,"—"What would you do?" inquired the commander. "Buy that town and burn it!"

In such a little village dwelt the men of 1812, and when they died their neighbors carried their bodies for burial away out of town to the new Second Burying Ground.

There seems to have been a simple state of society in those days, sixty-seven years ago. In all my reading I have found but one advertisement of any public entertainment, other than the celebration of the 4th of July, and that was when James Potter respectfully acquaints the ladies and gentlemen of New London that he has opened, at the house of Capt. Bushnell, a large and elegant collection of wax figures, as large as life. There Columbus, Washington and Buonaparte, together with a "Sleeping Beauty and her Infant," the "Philadelphia Friends' Beauty," the New York Beauty and the Boston Beauty held reception from 9 in the morning until 9 in the evening. And there, too, in silent awful wax was represented the Baltimore mob of 1812, showing, "First: Gen. Lingo, feeble, wounded and bloody, in the act of making bare his breast, expostulating with the mob to spare his life or put an end to it, through the wounds he received in the revolutionary war,—the assassin standing over him with a dirk in the attitude of plunging it into his breast. Second: Mr. Hanson stretched in his whole length, bleeding or apparently dead, (so life-like was this wax work) over whom stands another with a lifted club, ready to repeat the blow if necessary. Third: General Lee laying (sic) with his mangled head on the breast of Mr. Hanson, with few signs of life; (so deathless was this wax work) over whom another stands with the fatal club." Oh thrilling and blood-curdling show! How young New London begged for the "ninepence" that should open to the happy holder Capt. Bushnell's front door. And how mature political feeling, which was very closely half and half Federalist

and Republican, was propitiated into patronage by Mr. James Potter's particular announcement "to all ranks of people" that he is not influenced by any party motive, either Federal or Republican, but merely to show the serious consequences that arise by suffering passion to overcome reason."

Perhaps there was a reason why no other showmen shared Mr. Potter's courage. The times were very hard. The columns of the *Gazette* from before the declaration of war abound with the most piteous appeals and the most ominous threats concerning the payment of debts. But to judge from the long continuance of the same advertisements, the people could not be reached either by piteous appeals or terrible threats. More attractive to the people were the numerous advertisements of lotteries, by which the hardness of the times might be softened without exertion at short notice. There were lotteries to build meeting houses, to build bridges, to construct canals, lotteries for almost every imaginable purpose, and only one anonymous and obscure correspondent to lift the least objection to such gambling. But while we read much of lotteries, the old newspapers were in sharp contrast with the modern in the omission of insinuating advertisements of the most criminal character. The community seems then to be moral, industrious and peaceable enough, for all that appears in the *Gazette*. It is true, however, that Ezra Chappell complains in March, 1812, that his neighbors southward of his store are in the habit of stealing his lumber for firewood, and requests them "to take refuse boards in lieu of clear, as the refuse will answer equally well their purpose for fire wood at half the expense. And as some may not know in the night one kind of boards from another, he would inform them that the first pile of boards as they go onto the wharf are always clear, and it is but a step or two further to the refuse boards." But to this kind request he adds: "If they regard their backs, however, they will do well to let both alone."

Nor must I permit you to say, "the former days were better than these," in other respects in which we are accused of degeneracy by men who were boys sixty-seven years ago, and who assure us that young people were better bred churchwise then than they are now. For in 1813 I find this strange advertisement:

"The members of the First Church and congregation who are in the habit of taking their seats early at meeting on the Lord's day as a suitable and seasonable place for meditation on the approaching solemnities, are disturbed and pained by disorderly children; even large boys, who resort to the house of God to play,

and are running back and forth in the galleries, and up and down stairs with much indecent merriment and often scuffling. It is hoped and believed that after this notice, parents will correct a behavior so reproachful to a place of worship. New London, Nov. 23, 1813." (That is just sixty-six years ago yesterday.) Probably those *irreverant* "children and even small boys" are all dead long ago. It is not possible that they even grew up to be deacons, or members of the New London County Historical Society. But as I wince under the criticisms of people who tell me that we modern ministers are not strict enough with young people, and that sixty years ago better order was kept, I read the testimony of that old advertisement with real gratitude toward the anonymous old foggy who wrote it. I would gladly compose an epitaph for his unrecognizable grave.

Into this little city of 3000 souls, there comes by slow degrees the discussion and anticipation of war with Great Britain; very sharp discussions too, for the people of New London were equally divided between parties, and finally the war itself. And when the United States had been drawn into the maelstrom in which Europe was already engulfed, then it was written for the first time in many generations, that the whole civilized world was at war. In 1805, American vessels were accused of, and punished for, violating neutrality between Great Britain and the Napoleonic Empire. And when, in 1806, Great Britain declared a blockade of the entire coast of Europe, and Napoleon in turn declared a blockade of all the British islands, American foreign commerce was nearly destroyed. Neutrality had greatly helped us hitherto, but henceforth we were no better off as neutrals, than we might have been as belligerents, allied on one side or the other. Our people were no longer disinterested spectators of European strife. When presently British ships impressed sailors from under our flag, and insolently claimed the right to search our ships of war, hostilities were begun against us, and retaliation seemed our only course. But the war cloud did not break for yet five years, which were years of great suffering from the measures of foreign governments to, and from measures of, our own, which found itself compelled to blockade its own ports for two long years, and thus gave the finishing blow to its already prostrated commerce. The young nation was not yet powerful enough to command respect from either France or Great Britain; and between French indifference and British insolence was rapidly drifting toward dangerous straits. The Ship of State was unmanageable and would not mind

her helm. The sagacious and respected Madison deplored the impending catastrophe, but could neither avert nor make ready for it. New England was opposed to the administration then in power, and was opposed to war measures. Connecticut, outside of New London and vicinity, was almost unanimously Federalist, but even in New England and in Connecticut, the people were borne onward by the progress of events. The Monroe doctrine, which was not promulgated until 1823, might have expressed the New England policy, that we of America must maintain a policy of "neither entangling ourselves with the affairs of Europe nor suffering the powers of the old world to interfere with the affairs of the new."

But before Congress decided upon war the General Assembly of Connecticut (almost uncommonly Federalist) was making preparation for war. In the autumn of 1811 the militia are ordered to be uniformed with a minuteness of detail that shows thoroughness of organization. In April, 1812, the *Gazette* is complaining of the defenceless state of this important harbor, and at the same time, Gov. Griswold calls out 3000 militia for United States service and Mr. Samuel Green advertises a lot of military tactics and regulations which he had laid in, expecting a demand for them from New Londoners.

On May 11th Lieut. George H. Richards and John W. Green (New London names) are advertising for artillery recruits, offering \$16 bounty, and the shop-keepers have laid in a stock of "elegant cut and thrust swords, a fine article for the Canada market, which those who are expecting to march soon are invited to call and examine."

It was not until the 24th of June, after all this voluntary preparation, that the people of New London learned that war was declared against Great Britain.

I have sketched the course of events thus minutely to show, that however the men of New London, like all of New England, dreaded the precipitation of war, they were quick to meet the emergency. I feel confident that had the general government showed the same forethought, the history of our army in the war of 1812 would be pleasanter reading than it is.

There were already in New London and vicinity three local military companies, (three companies to 3000 people) Capt. French's Artillery company, and Captain Stockman's and Capt. Smith's companies of infantry.

And there had come down from the war of Independence, three earthworks, Fort Griswold in Groton, Fort Trumbull, a small affair on the site of the present work, with a blockhouse in its rear, which still remains, and a slight earthwork on Winthrop's Point, which was distinguishable until graded down to fill in the new railway wharf. But these works were in a dismantled condition.

It was upon such a community in New London, thus defended, that news came on June 24, 1812, of war with Great Britain.

Mr. Samuel Green, of the *Gazette*, had begun to cry out against "the defenceless state of the harbor" as early as April, but it was not until July 22d that repairs were begun, tardily, by the general government, upon Fort Griswold. And the "defenceless state of New London" may be taken as a sample of the defenceless state of the country, to say nothing of incapacity for the offensive. Never was a greater war undertaken in so foolish and slipshod a manner as our war of 1812.

In the first place, the national treasury was empty and without hope of repletion, since our own government had joined with France and England to destroy American commerce. Secondly, it was conceded by everybody, except our sailors, that we had no use for a navy, and that the war must be conducted on land. Thirdly, it was to be a war for the conquest of Canada, and the conquest was planned on so magnificent a scale that, while our exposed seaboard was left with scarcely a garrison, and our capital was abandoned to the enemy, all our available troops could be engaged in conquest. Nevertheless the forces were divided up into little independent commands, under pretentious names, widely separated from possible mutual support, and easily beaten in detail.

We may add, as a fourth item, the grossest incapacity in the war office and in the field, with hardly any exception, through the war. I find more ideas of military business in the movements of the Connecticut militia, than in all I have read of in the pretensions of the humiliated armies of the United States. The only blunders that were committed in Connecticut were under orders from Washington.

Connecticut comes into notice three times during the war. First: By the refusal of Gov. Griswold to furnish State militia upon requisition from the War Department. Second: By the blockade of Decatur's squadron in New London harbor, by the alleged treasonable signals on Light-house Point and on Eastern Point. Third: By the Hartford convention.

But New London was directly interested in but two of these events, and particularly interested in but one of them. Indeed, the Blue Lights throw all other matters into the shade so far as New London is concerned. Doubtless there were brave representatives of New London with the armies invading Canada, but I have found no trace of them. It must be even more certain that New London was represented in those brilliant privateer services, and among the volunteers of the navy, as New London was conspicuously represented there in the Revolutionary war. But so closely watched was our port, I find evidence of only two privateers fitted out at New London, the *Saratoga* and the *Mars*, the latter commanded by Charles Bulkley.

On the 29th of June, 1812, five days later than the declaration of war, requisition was made by the general government upon Gov. Griswold for five companies of militia, four of which were to report for garrison duty at New London. In two respects the requisition was distasteful. The right to call the militia into garrison here, involved the right to send them out of the State as well, and the call was not upon militia most convenient to existing danger, but for a draft from the whole state. Besides, the militia were, by the requisition, to be placed under regular officers, to lose their identity as Connecticut troops, and perhaps to be mixed in the regular army.

Our government made great and unhappy strides towards centralization during our civil war, but I doubt if ever under modern tendencies, Connecticut troops would consent to lose the Connecticut organization, and the Connecticut name. True it is, that since Roger Griswold of Lyme, from his invalid chamber, made answer to the requisition of the War Department, it has never been intimated, neither to the troops of Connecticut, or to the troops of any other state, that it might be necessary for them to lose their identity in order to save the country.

The Governor refused the requisition for constitutional reasons, that seemed to him sufficient. The constitution permitted the call of militia by the general government. "To execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrection, and repel invasion," and the Governor declared that "none of these exigences had been shown to exist." So New London was still almost defenceless, and the two banks sent off their specie to Norwich.

It was not until the 7th of October, that at last fifty-eight volunteers arrived from Tolland, with the promise of twenty more. And even so late as the 12th of May, 1813, the *Gazette* declares

that the city is still "defenceless." Meantime Decatur had come in with his prize, the *Macedonian*, the harbor was closer and closer blockaded; the inhabitants of New London were reported as fleeing to the interior, but the report was indignantly denied.

It would seem as if the War Department intended to punish Gov. Griswold's state, at whatever cost to the nation.

At last, by June 2, 1813, there are four regiments of troops on duty about the place. Decatur, with his squadron, was standing out; the British squadron was standing in; the troops were under arms; hot shot were made ready; the city was emptied of goods; many families were gone entirely, and most of the women and children. Great exertion was made at the Groton batteries. But the British ran out, Decatur sails up the river, the people returned and quiet prevailed for a while.

That may be taken as a sample of life in New London thenceforth through the war, until Decatur's squadron was dismantled.

On the 27th of October, 1813, Decatur abandoned the fortification on Dragon Hill at Allyn's Point, prepared his ships finally for sea, and came down to New London again, anchoring above Fort Trumbull, and his movements, (says the *Gazette*) *were observed by the enemy*. After many delays and small accidents, and by waiting for favorable weather, it seemed as if Decatur's hour at last had come. "The night of December 12th," (says Samuel Green, the editor,) "was boisterous, with a heavy sea, therefore it was utterly improbable that the British boats would leave their ships, or row guard three or four miles this side of them"

Let Decatur tell his own story. He writes to the Navy Department under date of December 20, 1813:

New London, December 20, 1813.

Some few nights since the weather promised an opportunity for this squadron to get to sea, and it was said on shore that we intended to make the attempt. In the course of the evening, two *blue lights* were burnt on both the points at the harbor's mouth, as signals to the enemy, and there is no doubt but they have, by signals and otherwise, *instantaneous information of our movements*. Great but unsuccessful exertions have been made to detect those who communicate with the enemy by signals. The editor of the New London *Gazette*, to alarm them, and in the hope to prevent the repetition of these signals, stated in that newspaper that they had been observed, and ventured to denounce those who had made them in animated and indignant terms. The consequence is, that he has incurred the express censure of some of his neighbors.

Notwithstanding their signals have been repeated, and have been seen by twenty persons at least in this squadron, there are men in New London who have the hardihood to affect to disbelieve it, and the effrontery to avow their disbelief.

I am, sir, with the highest consideration and respect, your very obedient and humble servant, STEPHEN DECATUR.

HON. WILLIAM JONES, Secretary of the Navy.

Other testimony confirms Decatur's temperate report, for upon the announcement in the *Gazette* of the 15th of December, a controversy arose about the matter.

Mr. Samuel Green, a strong Federalist, who refused to report the Democratic celebration of the 4th of July, except with a protest against the sentiments of the toasts given on that occasion, a loyal New Londoner, as the columns of the *Gazette* show plainly, Mr. Samuel Green declares that "possessed as he was of the facts, and fully convinced of their truth, he could not, in justice to the public, and especially to the commanders of our ships, and of their brave crews, suppress his knowledge of them."

The officers of the deck, with the other officers and men of the watch on board the *Hornet*, expressly state that the points of the harbor were then distinctly visible, and that the lights appeared on the high ground within the points, and on the eastern side, at least forty feet high and within the shore.

The editor of the *Norwich Courier*, (a Federalist paper,) at first denied the report as untrue, because he says he "supposed the story was one of hundreds of stories that grow at such times." "But," he adds in a later issue, "we have been mistaken. It is a lamentable fact that blue lights were shown as signals to the enemy previous to the 15th, and have since been repeated, and we fear will continue to be shown until the scoundrels concerned in such diabolical wickedness shall be detected, and suffer the punishment so justly their due."

The editor of the *Gazette* furnished further evidence on December 21st. He says: "We now state on the authority of Commodore Decatur, Capt. Jones and Capt. Biddle, that the officers and men of the *Hornet*, stationed as lookouts, distinctly saw and noticed blue lights shown on both sides of the river, and soon after signals were made from one of the enemy's ships, which they presumed were made in consequence of those from the shore. The officer of the *Macedonian*, who was rowing guard on the same evening, together with all the men composing the boat's crew, saw blue lights

made on both sides of the river, and immediately returned to the ship to report the same to the commanding officer. These persons are familiar with the making of signals, and could not mistake the common lights of the shore for blue lights."

Again, in the *Gazette* of January 12th, 1814, I find this report of events on the night of January 9th:

"On Sunday night, about 10 o'clock, blue lights were again exhibited on both sides of the river, and were answered by all the British ships. At this time a sloop was passing called the *Trumbull*. The lights were distinctly seen by a number of military and naval officers."

Against this sixfold testimony to the fact of the signals to the British, is to be weighed, First; "The outcry that was made instantly by the New London correspondent of the Boston *Advertiser*, who declares that the lights were in British guard boats, that the naval officers "disbelieve that the lights were the work of any human being on heights upon land or on shores." He exonerates the editor of the *Gazette* from the suspicion of writing his own report. He intimates that the article in the *Gazette* was fabricated by a certain person, who is known, and whose object "was no doubt to bring a danger upon a people toward whom he entertains a deadly hostility, for reasons well-known to himself and extremely mortifying to his pride and ambition. But, (he adds,) it has failed, and the author and the people here well understand the subject."

But then comes Mr. Samuel Green, to say that the *Gazette* "paragraphs are justly attributed to himself alone;" the officer of the deck, and the outlook on the *Hornet* to tell the elevation and location of the signals, and Commodore Decatur with Capt. Jones and Biddle, to show that instead of disbelieving, the naval officers actually believed and knew that the signals were made on shore. And so the ground gives away under the anonymous correspondent of the Boston *Advertiser*.

A second consideration against the facts as reported, is drawn from the negative testimony regarding the blue lights, which cannot be better stated than the President of this Society has stated it to me in a letter. His argument is certainly very strong, and in the absence of other evidence would be conclusive. He says: "Fort Trumbull was garisoned with United States troops. There was a guard at Fort Griswold. Detachments of militia were posted at different points on the east side of the river down to Eastern Point, and on the west side down to the Light House. Sentries, of course, were posted and were on watch every night. Not one

of these sentries, and there were many of them, regular and militia, ever saw a blue light. There was no officer in the land service, of any rank, regular or militia, who did not discredit the report that such lights were seen. Indeed, they could not do otherwise without confessing to manifest dereliction to duty. As faithful officers they were clearly bound not only to post sentries who would be vigilant enough to see such lights, but active and prompt enough to arrest those who exhibited them."

Unfortunately, however, the officers of the land service have not put upon record their opinions in the public manner in which the naval officers have recorded their observations. And while it is quite true that sentinels of the picket line should have extended beyond the two points at the harbor's mouth, with strong reserves not far in their rear, I find no evidence that our outposts did extend very far below Fort Trumbull and Fort Griswold. On the contrary, just two weeks before the reported signals, an affair occurred at Roger's Beach "near the salt works" between British boats, and a detachment sent down from Fort Trumbull, there apparently being no troops nearer than that. But on October 6, 1814, as if to guard the points which had hitherto been unoccupied, mention is made that "two new batteries, *one on each side the harbor*, are nearly completed."

I cannot escape the conviction that such signals were made between the two points of our harbor and the British fleet, and that they were made on more than one occasion. But it is quite another and a more important question: By whom were they made?

I think it is safe to say that no New Londoner, and that no American was concerned in the matter, except to burn with indignation when so horrid an accusation has been made. While Connecticut was almost unanimously Federalist, New London was an evenly balanced town, half Federalist and half Republican, and each party watched the other with a keen scent for errors. Moreover, while the Federalist party in Connecticut was for peace, so long as between peace and war there was an open question, and while the conduct of the war as neglecting the proper defence of New England was obnoxious to the Federalist, nevertheless the Federalist utterances from first to last betray not the slightest inclination to make any peace but an honorable one, or to give the enemy the least advantage, or to regard the British as any other than the bitterest enemies, even Democrats being more tolerable! No Federalist of New London, however base in character, was ever

accused or suspected of treason. There was a day, too, Monday the 12th of July, 1813, when a fleet of seven ships, two brigs, a schooner and a sloop were standing in from between Block Island and the mainland, for New London and the citizens were much excited. Simultaneously came an order from the sagacious War Department to discharge *all* the militia on duty in New London and Groton. By 11 o'clock Groton was completely evacuated, and the troops were mustered on the Parade for discharge, when instantly a ship of the line and a frigate on their way just outside the harbor, began to exercise their guns! All New London was in an uproar, but not until 10 o'clock at night was a way found to put so much as a solitary sentinel inside Fort Griswold. If there were treasonable citizens in New London, why did not the great British squadron off the harbor and under way become aware that the city lay open to them, and that by sailing into the harbor they could exercise their guns to some purpose.

It is significant, too, that only after this date do we find indications of spies in New London, as if the enemy did not mean to have the War Department blunder again, and they not know it.

The blue lights appeared on December 12th, 1813, and on January 9th, 1814, and the *Gazette* of January 12th has the vague announcement that Capt. Center of Newport has been arrested, (for what is not stated,) and as he will have a trial, the editor feels it his duty to make no remarks relative to him. The *Gazette* of January 19th informs us: "There not being sufficient grounds for the detention of Center, he was discharged, and has since found his way on board the British ships." After this, arrests of suspicious persons are made more frequently. Of course we cannot say that Center was arrested as a spy, and for making the signals of December 12th and January 9th, the date of his arrest and the carefulness of the *Gazette* not to excite the public mind against him, and the fact that after his discharge, for want of evidence to convict, he convicted himself by going on board the enemy's ships, affords strong presumption that in this professed Newport captain we have found the *Center* of the Blue Light mystery.

It is indeed very possible for a blockader to send men of his party on the shore, to make signals to him. I was on board the *Iroquois*, in 1861, blockading the *Sumpter* in the roadstead of St. Pierre Martinque, when we adopted this very expedient, and had our *Blue Lights* burned, not on a lonely point like those of our harbor's mouth, but in the middle of the town, which, although French was essentially hostile to us.

The story of New London in the war of 1812, becomes uneventful from the time of the Blue Lights until the time of peace. The defences are gradually improved and strengthened by the citizens, and even the War Department seems to have moments of sound judgment. There are occasional alarms and occasional excitements. So late as October 12th, 1814, I find the advertisement that "The Committee of Defence for the City of New London have designated and marked out the ground for breast works and other works for defence on Town Hill, and near the harbor's mouth, and intend to break ground and commence operations on Wednesday the 12th inst. "They respectfully solicit the assistance and co-operation of their friends and fellow citizens in the neighboring towns, who will please to furnish themselves with suitable implements of labor, such as spades, shovels, bars, etc. *Refreshments and liquor will be provided.*"

I am afraid the liquor was used ; we know the works were not, for presently the day of peace arrived.

That was a great time and long to be remembered, when the hall of the Court House was decorated for the Peace Ball, and Decatur and our officers welcomed as guests of New London, the officers of the British fleet. It was a great affair, which time forbids me to attempt the description of. Perhaps it is as well not to describe it. For the advertisements in the *Gazette* reveal a great loss of articles of the toilet there, and a cry is made, even for whom can, for whoever can remember what became of the key of the Court House, to tell where it is !

My story such as it is, is about done. May I not sum it up in the light of the testimony by the memorable words of our representative in the General Assembly, who, when some fling was made on the subject of "Blue Lights" rose and announced with the telling speech,

"Mr Speaker, New London asks no odds !"

"New London asks no odds."

Mr. President and Gentlemen: I have opened but one chapter of New London history. It is by no means the only chapter which promises interest to the student. I could wish that some more graceful pen might set before the people of to-day, some pictures of the yet unrecorded romances of their old ancestors. This quaint town has witnessed, I doubt not, many a charming and pathetic incident, in which poets might rejoice. Almost every old house

has its story, pretty or sad, if only we could recall it from oblivion before it be literally true of the old homesteads, that

“Life and thought have gone away
Side by side;
Leaving doors and windows wide,
Careless tenants they.”

It may be too late to tell in full the story which gave Bride Brook its name, but it is not yet too late to gather up such stories as that of pretty Mary Christophers, sailing, O so long ago, on a bright September afternoon, from New London, up New Haven harbor to the early Yale commencement; with the story of the young senior picking out through a spy-glass that unknown girl in blue, for his partner at the Commencement Ball, and as it proved his partner for life; and the story of the spy-glass kept by the pretty Mary and her young senior, and handed down from generation to generation since, to be melted up in the burning of Chicago.

Nor is it yet too late to catch the picture of young Ephraim Woodbridge, minister of the old First Church, when only twenty-three years of age, leading his bride of eighteen summers to their new home on Main street, and cutting on the window pane with the diamond of her ring this grateful sentiment:

“Ephraim Woodbridge,”
“Hic Vixet”
“Hail happy day! the fairest sun that ever rose !”
“1769.”

A pretty picture, setting the preacher of the olden time in a somewhat warmer and a truer light than we are apt to paint him and his brethren. A romantic picture, set off by another of exquisite pathos, when a few years later the young minister with his little children, all too young to know what the sad scene meant, followed the form of his brilliant young wife, who, (says the funeral sermon,) “in the giddy days of youth, was particularly airy and gay,” up to the old Burying Ground to leave her body there for a twelve-month, and then, at only thirty years of age, to lay his own dust by the side of hers forever !

But not these houses only have their histories; these very wharves, whose dusty roadways seem so unromantic, have their tales to tell to some sympathetic and patient ear; the wharves,

whence, in Colonial days, in heroic times of the Revolution, the war of 1812, and even later

“The stately ships went forth
From their haven under the hill.”

These have tales to tell. How many have been the ships from them

“That sailed for sunny isles,
But never came to shore !”

And who shall tell the story of New London Harbor, with its growth of commerce, its exploits of courage and of skill, and its incidents of love and grief, as the story might be told !

M E M O I R

OF

CAPTAIN RICHARD LAW.

Captain Richard Law, a venerable sea captain, died at New London, Conn., his native place, on the 19th of December, 1845, aged eighty-two years and nine months. Capt. Law was a man of great skill and experience in nautical affairs. A sailor from his boyhood, he had made a vast number of voyages, and had been in scenes of danger and difficulty that test the character and task the powers of man in no ordinary degree. But his courage and skill always proved equal to any emergency. In no critical conjuncture were his firmness and decision of mind ever known to desert him. These higher qualities are not often found in combination with the genial, social disposition which was a characteristic of Capt. Law.

He had an elevated idea of the duty which a commander owes to his ship—that is, to the interests of life and property committed to his care. On this account he was ever unwilling to take one of his family to sea with him, lest the ties of affection might in some emergency warp his judgment, and cause him to swerve from the straight line of duty.

In most respects he might serve as a model of an accomplished sea captain, mingling urbanity with authority, and securing both the love and confidence of his crew. In all his numerous voyages he had never any serious difficulty with a subaltern, and though he frequently shipped with men who had been represented as stubborn and refractory, they generally became, under his judicious management, as cheerful and orderly as any on board. One trait in his character to which special prominence should be accorded, was a generous fellow-feeling and open-handed charity towards his brother sailors.

“My conscience is clear upon one point ;” he would often say, “*I never neglected the sailor.* Often have I watched, night after night, by the side of a sick mess-mate or a poor tar. It was

always my pleasure, as well as my duty, to take good care of Poor Jack." This is an example worthy of all commendation, and leads us in the outset of this brief sketch of his life to enrol him as the sailor's friend. Too often alas! the sailor's commander is the very person who has the least sympathy for the sailor's suffering. Only an imperfect outline of the life of Capt. Law can now be recovered. Had he kept a private journal, or had the friends of his later years—the narrative period of his life—been more careful to draw out the details from his vigorous memory, or even to note the particulars which were daily flowing forth from his rich treasury in the familiar intercourse of friendship, a memoir might be written, surpassing in interest the wonders of romance, or the creations of poetry. His father, Richard Law,* a son of the Hon. Jonathan Law, formerly Governor of Connecticut, has already become eminent as an attorney under the royal government, but in the outset of the revolution, joined the patriotic party with alacrity and ardor, devoting his time, talents and fortune to the service of his country. He was a member of Congress for several years during the revolutionary contest, and one of the judges of the Connecticut District. His second son, Richard,† the subject of this sketch, caught the flame of liberty from the glowing bosom of his father, and gave himself up with all the boundless enthusiasm of youth to the cause of American independence. At the commencement of the contest he was a member of Yale College, having entered that institution when but little over twelve years of age, his father having himself vigilantly superintended his educational studies and prepared him for admission. At the present day, however, no one is permitted to enter at that age, even if the qualifications are complete and undeniable.

The news of the battle of Bunker Hill came in among the spirited young patriots then at Yale College, like a lighted torch among sheaves of corn, setting them all in a flame, and scattering them fast and wide. Either with, or without leave, most of the students left New Haven, some of them never to resume again their collegiate course. Richard Law hastened to the side of his father, and became the companion, the assistant and the confidential messenger of all his earlier patriotic enterprises. In the first public meeting in New London, which gave a bold and free voice to the stifled wish for liberty and entire independence of Great

*Born at Milford, Conn., 1733, graduated Yale College, 1751, died at New London 1806.

†Born March 5, 1763.

Britain,* he stood behind the chair of his father, the moderator of the assembly, and as resolution after resolution was adopted, he was the first to toss up his hat and give the long and loud hurrah. In August, 1776, he accompanied his father to New York, the latter being sent thither by the Council of Safety, to confer with General Washington, respecting the defence of the colony. He finally obtained permission from his father to withdraw permanently from college, and to enlist in the infant navy of his country. At the age of fifteen he was appointed midshipman and attached to the ship *Trumbull*, then building at Middletown. In the mean time he obtained leave to make a cruise in the "*Lady Spencer*," a noted and successful privateer, belonging to New London. In that vessel, under the command of Capt. Michael Melally, he had his first experience of life at sea, and of marine warfare. They had a slight contest with one of the enemy's vessels, and gave spirited chase to another, but took no prize of any magnitude.

The *Trumbull* was brought around from Connecticut river in the summer of 1779, and towed up the Thames to Gale Town, seven miles from New London, as a place safe from invasions of the enemy, and there fitted for sea. Midshipman Law was aboard and on duty during the whole summer, and performed the labor and service of a man till she was completely rigged and equipped. She was designed for thirty-two guns, but was furnished with only thirty, of which twenty-four were twelves and six sixes. She had a gallant crew, mostly recruited in New London and its vicinity. New indeed, to the trade of war, but glowing with patriotic fervor and eager for distinction and adventure. She was equipped and manned under the orders of Capt. Elisha Hinman, to whom it was supposed the actual command would be given, but the post was assigned by Congress to Capt. James Nicholson of Maryland, who was then the senior officer in the navy. Capt. Nicholson took the command and the *Trumbull* left New London harbor in April, 1780, her whole company, officers and men, numbering one hundred and ninety-nine.

On the 2d of June, off Bermuda, she fell in with a British letter of marque, or private armed cruiser, called the *Watt*, carrying thirty-four guns and commanded by Capt. Coulthard. A terrible conflict ensued. The two ships lay side by side for two hours and a half, engaged in mutual destruction, pouring broadsides into each other without intermission. The loss in proportion to

*Held in Miner's tavern, on Bank street, June 1776.

the numbers engaged, was so great as to give it a sad pre-eminence among naval battles. The *Watt* had a cargo of great value, and had been equipped to fight her way. She had a number of passengers on board, who came upon deck and fought with the heroism of practiced soldiers. Capt. Coulthard, in his account of the affair, admitted that he had ninety-two men killed and wounded, his whole number being two hundred and fifty. The *Trumbull* had but thirty-nine killed and wounded, but a number of the crew were prevented by sickness from taking any part in the action, so that fifty out of two hundred, or every fourth man was disabled.

In the midst of this fearful encounter, midshipman Law, then only seventeen years of age, was left standing *alone* at his gun, every other man that belonged to it lying prostrate around him. Some of the crew were literally cut to pieces, and it was said that one man was actually shot into the air and lodged in the rigging. Capt. Gilbert Saltonstall, of the marines, had *eleven* different wounds from the shoulder to the hip, some with buck shot and others by gun splinters. Weary of the awful conflict, the firing at length ceased on both sides, and the two ships drifted apart. The *Watt* was most injured in her hull, the *Trumbull* in her sails and rigging. The main and quarter-deck guns of the *Trumbull* fired three hundred and eighty-six rounds, eighty-six of which were fired on the quarter deck.

The marines fired pistols during part of the time, exclusive of which they expended nearly 1200 rounds. An anecdote often told by Capt. Law, may be introduced here as forming some relief from these horrid details, and furnishing a striking touch of natural feeling, gushing forth at a desperate conjuncture. In the hottest of the action, when the broadsides of the enemy were shattering the spars around them, and the deck was strewn with the dead, one* of Mr. Law's townsmen said to him eagerly: "Lawzy! Lawzy!" (this was the diminutive by which the youthful officer was distinguished by his companions,) "If I am killed, don't throw me overboard with my trousers on." "Why not?" "Oh, because of the guineas! There are sixteen guineas stitched up in the waistband for Molly—my poor Molly." They had taken several prizes and the man had contrived to secrete this little private booty. The day after the action the wind blew a gale. The *Trumbull* had lost her main and mizzen-mast, and the foremast,

*Mr. Mark Edgar, a native of Wales.

wounded in many places, was saved with difficulty. They lay at the mercy of the raging elements, their decks cut up, their masts and spars a perfect wreck, the groans of the wounded filling every pause of the storm, the sound men exhausted with fatigue, and the officers apprehensive and anxious lest a fresh foe should come athwart them, in which case they must inevitably fall an easy prey. *The day after the battle*, when the excitement of conflict is gone, is usually one of unmixed distress, and gives us a picture of war in its true light. When the gale abated and the crew had recovered their strength and spirits, they rigged a jury mast and arrived in Boston harbor on the 15th of the month. There they refitted the ship, filled up the diminished ranks with new recruits, and again put to sea. The same officers, and, for the most part, the same men, continued in her the next year, until the disastrous close of her career. In August, 1781, she was captured by the British frigate *Iris* and the sloop of war *Monk*. The crew were carried to New York and incarcerated in those dens of brutality, famine and despair, known as the Sugar House and Jersey Prison ship. Midshipman Law was the youngest of the party imprisoned together, and by the lively sallies of his humor, and the inspiring influence of youthful hope, contributed not a little to enliven the dark hours of captivity. He managed every night to get free from his irons and to sleep unshackled. The prisoners were chained in pairs. The companion of Law was large and robust, while he was a slender and supple youth. The hand-cuffs and ankle-chains were fitted to the former, and the moment Law could escape from the eye of the keeper, he would slip out hand and foot, and jocosely entreat his companion to *take good care of his bracelets* till he called for them. He was then comparatively at liberty till the approach of a foe warned him to resume his bonds. The officers were at length paroled, and Midshipman Law was sent over upon the Long Island side a few miles distant from the ferry to get the signature of Col. Axtell, a British officer, to their papers.

This officer was then residing at a pleasant rural retreat in the country. He treated the American midshipman with politeness, and showed him round the premises. It may here be mentioned, by way of episode, that more than thirty years afterward, when we were again engaged in a war with Great Britain, (entered into principally in defence of the rights of seamen,) a friend of Capt. Law offered to him a retired country seat at Flat Bush, Long Island, for the temporary accommodation of his family. On arriving at this rural mansion, he found it to be the same in which he

had waited upon Col. Axtell so many years before, to get his parole signed. Here were the same trees, only larger and more umbrageous than formerly, enbowering the house; the same luxuriant garden, and fruit trees bending under their rich burdens. After the establishment of American Independence Mr. Law withdrew from the navy and entered into the merchant trade. Had he remained in the service he would have been, before his death, the senior officer in the United States navy. He made numerous voyages to the West Indies, and often remained long among the islands engaged in the carrying trade. In that tropical climate he suffered greatly from its peculiar diseases, and at one time was so debilitated, that day after day he was brought from his berth and laid upon deck, shaded from the sun, apparently to die. For a period of fourteen months in succession, life was but a glimmering spark. In 1799, Capt. Law again entered the public service, receiving from the Hon. Benjamin Stoddard, Secretary of the Navy, the commission of master commandant, with an order to take command of the brig *Richmond*, in the squadron of Commodore Talbot. In this vessel he was out fourteen months in the West Indies, on a cruise, having for its object the protection of American commerce from the French privateers, which were reported as lying in ambush around the principal ports of St. Domingo and Cuba. He retook several captured vessels, but made no prize of any moment, the annoyance having been either greatly overrated, or the enemy driven from the ground by the appearance of a superior force. On the reduction of the navy, after the general peace of 1801, Capt. Law returned to the merchant service, and continued to track the ocean in various directions with his adventurous keel. Before the treaties of the United States with Spain and France, in regard to Louisiana, the Mississippi was barred against every ensign but that of Spain. But no sooner was the bar removed than American enterprise stood ready to enter the gate, and introduce the Father of Waters to the commerce of the world. Capt. Law commanded the first merchant vessel, which, under the American flag, entered that noble river and sailed into the harbor of New Orleans. (This was in 1803.) This fact was noticed and circulated at the time, accompanied with great applause, and though but a chance incident, is of itself sufficient to give distinction to his name. In his voyages across the Atlantic, and during his residence in foreign countries, Capt. Law met with various adventures, and became familiarly acquainted with many prominent characters on both sides of the water. His

social disposition, his polished manners, genial humor and fund of anecdote, his nautical skill and high integrity of character, made him an introduction into circles of distinction, both at home and in foreign countries. Those who knew him in his later days will not soon forget the interest that he gave to conversation by his life-like descriptions, and rich and varied reminiscences of noted characters and striking events.

In the year 1805 he made that disastrous voyage in the ship *Jupiter* to which the loss of life gave such fatal distinction. He was on his return voyage from London, having sailed from the Downs, March 6th. Just a month from that time, on the morning of April 6th, being on the south-eastern quarter of the great Newfoundland Bank, lat. 43° , long. $49'$, they found themselves involved in a labyrinth of ice islands. Sometimes they were in danger of being hemmed in, or dashed to atoms, and every now and then large masses appeared that had no opening, which obliged them frequently to change their course and steer wherever the broken ice afforded a chance of escape. During the whole of that day the captain never left the place of responsibility, and in fact had occupied it the whole preceding night, standing at the post of observation and action, in sea phrase *conning* his ship. The most intense anxiety prevailed among the passengers, and even when night closed around them, but few of the cabin passengers left the deck, allowing the supper below to remain untouched, and watching the movements of the ship, and the fields of ice floating and dashing around them, with silent solicitude. Not a useless word was spoken during that night of horror. At 12 o'clock, while they were luffing and bearing away from a large island that suddenly appeared upon their lee, they struck against a small piece of broken ice, which penetrated the starboard bow and fixed the doom of the ship. The stroke was so light and the sound so low that the commander did not dream that it was a fatal shock, till one of the crew came up in haste and terror from below, and exclaimed, "Captain! the ship is filling!" Such fearful tidings, so suddenly announced, could not fail to send a thrill of agitation akin to the frosts of death, through the hearts of all who heard it. The captain went immediately below and saw at once the hopelessness of their situation; then ordering both pumps to be rigged, he returned to the deck, and, in a few brief words, told the passengers that the ship was sinking, that every exertion should be made to save life, but unless silence was preserved, and strict attention paid to orders, all must perish together. Not a groan—not a mur-

muring word or despairing cry followed. The stillness of death reigned in the company, and amid that awful silence the orders of the chief were issued and obeyed with the promptitude which the occasion required. The two boats were got out, thirty-eight men, women and children lowered into the long boat, which was given in charge to the second mate, and what provision and water could be seized on the instant, were thrown in by the steward. The remaining passengers that appeared upon deck, with the captain and mate, leaped into the small boat or yawl, while the ship was settling, and were barely able to push off in time to avoid being carried down with her. The saddest part of the tale remains to be told. Twenty-seven persons, weary with their long and exciting watch upon deck, had turned in for the night, and were asleep below. There was not time to awake them—to attempt it would be only to increase the number of the perishing; the boats were already crowded with life; a tithe of those below, added to the weight, would bring imminent peril upon the whole. Moreover, the emergency did not admit of deliberation or counsel; there was no room for a second thought, with such awful rapidity was destruction rushing upon them.

Upon Capt. Law devolved a responsibility, the most awful that man ever meets in this world's affairs, of determining, and that with *instant* decision, whether all should go together in that dreadful vortex, which was drawing them down, or whether a chance of escape should be given to some, leaving the others in ignorance of their approaching doom. The least hesitation, so imminent and impending was their fate, would have been death to all. But Capt. Law did not hesitate, though his heart was wrung with anguish at the dreadful necessity. With perfect presence of mind, and almost stern decision, he succeeded in getting out his boats, in putting every person that appeared on deck aboard of them, and in getting loose from the sinking ship. One young man alone, who had a mother and sister below, after having got into the boat, in the very moment of pulling off, demanded to be put back that he might die with his friends. Remonstrance was vain; he was fixed in his purpose, and when they would have constrained him to remain he leaped upon deck. As they hauled off, no other living being was seen upon the ship but this young man. In half an hour from the time when the first light stroke was heard against the ice, the waters closed over this gallant ship and her costly freight of human souls. It is not surprising that these circumstances should have been sometimes misrepresented, and

that Capt. Law has not escaped censure for the course taken by him. But when the awful emergency is considered in all its bearings, it will be found that he not only acted upon a high sense of duty, but that if he had possessed less decision of character, less of that true greatness of mind, which makes a man willing to assume responsibility when critical emergencies arise to demand it, no living voice would ever have been heard recounting the story of the *Jupiter*. To his dying day he always felt that in regard to the duty he owed to the passengers, he had acted not only wisely, but righteously. It is a fearful position in which to be placed, and one of tremendous moment, to have a ship laden with human life upon the wide ocean, going down with headlong rapidity into the gulf beneath; and only minds of great natural discernment, fearless, calm and governed by high principles of action, can perform the whole duty of a commander at such a time of trial. There is no doubt but that if every sea captain had the same presence of mind, and could act in times of peril with as much promptness and energy, many who have found a premature grave in the ocean, might have lived to bless the skill, and be grateful for the resolute and decisive action of him to whose charge their lives had been given in solemn trust. But the noble ship went down with her cargo valued at half a million of dollars, and her human freight worth more than all material worlds. The heroic, the tender, the self-sacrificing son and brother went down upon her deck. Those that slumbered below, deemed, perchance, that they were struggling in a fearful dream, from which they woke not till in another world. The two boats remained among the field of ice, the yawl in tow of the long boat, continually relieving the oars, now pulling one way and then drifting another, with difficulty finding a passage and expecting every moment to be locked in or dashed in pieces, during the remainder of that night and all the next day, (which was the Sabbath,) and the next night, and until 12 o'clock on Monday noon. At length they cleared the ice, but found a rough sea, and the small boat being unsafe in tow was cut adrift, and with her heavy burden of eight men, they in the long boat not being willing to increase their number, was left drifting before the wind, which blew fresh from the south, and in the midst of a drenching rain, which continued during the day. They were in momentary expectation that the boat would fill, but at night the wind abated, and they could make use of their oars. The next morning found them much frost-bitten and exhausted from fatigue. The boat was so crowded that only one could possibly lie down

at a time. They had at first no provisions but a few fragments from the supper table, caught up in a table cloth, and part of a demijohn of water, and these were now nearly expended. Their only drinking vessel was a gold snuff box belonging to one of the company, and after rowing all night their only refreshment in the morning was what could be sucked from the wristband of a shirt dipped into the snuff box of water, and then applied to the thirsty lips of each of the party. Providence had, however, provided relief for them. Before noon (Tuesday the 9th,) they descried a sail, and hoisting the table cloth upon one of their oars, they took turns in holding it up, until they were discovered and relieved. They were taken up by the fishing schooner *Joanna*, Capt. Henry Squires, who treated them with the utmost kindness and attention; giving up his voyage, he returned with them to Marblehead, where they landed April 24th. The persons saved in the yawl were the Captain and first mate, Hon. Robert B. Kennedy, James B. Temple, James Ilbery, of London, John Tappan, of Boston, with one seaman and one steerage passenger.

It was long before any intelligence was received from those in the long boat. They were, however, taken up on the same day with those in the yawl, by a vessel outward bound, which conveyed them to Europe. In the year 1807, on a return voyage from London, Capt. Law had the pleasing privilege of bringing out the first Protestant missionary to China, the heaven-commissioned Morrison, who came to this country as a more eligible position from which to obtain a conveyance to the Celestial Empire, than England. He was perhaps induced to take this course by the deep interest which President Madison took in his mission. From him he received letters which were of great use to him in Canton. In the year 1809, Capt. Law made a voyage to Archangel in Russia, in the ship *Egeria*, owned by Messrs. Murray and Thompson of New York. This was his first visit to those wonderful regions, where day without night, and night without day, are the great characteristics of summer and winter. Mr. James B. Murray went in the ship as passenger. He had a favorable voyage of forty-eight days, and though he found seventy vessels in port, ten or twelve of which were Americans, yet by a sudden rise in sugar and tobacco, which articles formed the principal part of his cargo, this voyage proved to be by far the most productive that had ever been made to that port from this country. On the 10th of March, 1810, Capt Law again sailed from New York in the same ship, the *Egeria*, bound to St. Petersburg, with an assorted cargo, consist-

ing of wines, Havana sugar, coffee, raisins, indigo, spices, etc., (valued at \$45,000). After a long and tempestuous voyage, he came upon the coast of Norway, when he was boarded by a small Norwegian privateer, and under pretence that the papers were simulated and the vessel English, he was carried in Farhsand, a small port near the Naze, sixty miles west of Christiansand. Here they arrived on the 14th of May, and suffered a long and vexatious detention. The ship's papers were forwarded to the prize court at Christiansand, but they refused from week to week and month to month, even to examine them. Sixteen American vessels, most of them with valuable cargoes, were brought under similar pretences into this insignificant out-port, and almost every other harbor on that inhospitable coast was filled with the same piratical trophies. It was supposed that the Danish authorities were expecting a rupture between the United States and France, in which case an order would be given by the court of Denmark for the sequestration of American property, and the captors and government would share together the rich spoils so unrighteously obtained. The detention of the *Egeria* was ruinous to the interests of the voyage. Five of the crew deserted, and when at length, after three months' delay the cause was brought before the court, and the vessel cleared, the captors appealed to the high court at Copenhagen. This, of course, obliged the vessel to winter in this forlorn part of the globe, where the treatment they experienced was of the most harrassing and irritating kind. The same fate awaited a throng of American captains, some, however, were condemned outright. The privateering laws of that country declared all neutral vessels under British convoy to be legal prizes, and as about twenty of the vessels taken, though bearing the American flag, had sailed under British convoy, they were, of course, condemned. The crews of these vessels were all turned adrift upon the shore, destitute, ignorant of the language, and with no hope of aid but from the American Consul at Christiansand, Mr. Isackson, who exerted all his influence and devoted himself with unwearied assiduity to protect the interests at stake and relieve the suffering seamen. About two hundred American seamen left destitute in this distant and inhospitable clime, experienced the kindest care and attention, and obtained support and the means of returning home from Mr. Isackson. He finally chartered the ship *America*, Capt. Stone, and sent them home. This ship had been detained fourteen months, and had wearily dragged through a trial in both courts. Capt. Law said of Mr. Isackson: "He was a man placed by Divine Providence

on that inhospitable coast for the protection of distressed Americans." His interference, however, was of little avail with the courts. Vessels were condemned on the most frivolous pretexts; one, because she was pronounced *too clean* to have crossed the ocean; one, because her water was too pure and sweet to have been brought so far as from Boston—of course she must have been filled in England; another, because she had no chart of the Atlantic ocean on board, and it was pronounced impossible to navigate said ocean without a chart. It was charged against the *Egeria* that she had brought no bill of health from America signed by the Danish consul, and that one of her crew had been in the same port the year previous in a vessel from Portland, that had been condemned, that he had gone from thence to England, and it was impossible that he could have returned to the United States, shipped again, and arrived there in that time. The appeal to Copenhagen obliged Capt. Law to make what haste he could to that place, to stand on the defence. He left Christiansand in September, with six other American captains and supercargoes, similiarly situated with himself, in an open boat, and was twelve days traversing the boisterous waters on the coast of Norway and Sweden, but finding it impossible to proceed on account of the easterly winds and rough weather, they landed at Stromstod, and proceeded to Gottingburg, a distance of one hundred and twenty English miles by land. This was a very fatiguing journey, the best vehicle they could procure being a kind of horse-cart without springs, and the roads intolerably rough. But at length after a journey of three weeks from Christiansand they arrived at Copenhagen, where they hoped to find more justice than in Norway. Great was the surprise and indignation of Capt. Law, on arriving at the capitol, to learn that his captors had suborned three privateersmen to declare, upon oath, that the *Egeria* was an English vessel, built in that country, and direct from Liverpool; that they lay beside her in Liverpool dock while she was taking in her cargo, and put up at the same tavern with her second mate. Notwithstanding the abundant evidence that could be procured to the contrary, the ship would undoubtedly have been condemned on this perjured testimony, had this case been one of the first to come before the court. Vessel after vessel was condemned upon pretexts not only unwarrantable, but frivolous and often contradictory. Never, perhaps, were depredations upon the commerce of a neutral power to such an extent, allowed by any civilized nation. It was wonderful that the outcry against it was not more loud and long, and that history says so little of the

illegal detention and confiscation of American property at this period, in Norway and Denmark. These vessels possessed every necessary document, and some of them even certificates from Danish consuls in America, to prove the entire neutrality of their vessels and cargoes, and their destination to ports in amity with the Danish government. Yet the court seemed determined to believe they were all English, and it is possible that they really believed this to be the fact, and that they distrusted the evidence from an idea that the English had the art and address to make wrong appear right. It must be allowed that mistakes in identity are liable to occur where two nations, like the English and Americans, have the same origin, speak the same language, and are engaged in similar pursuits. Yet the judgments of different courts at this time, belonging to the same nation, upon the same evidence, and having the same laws to guide them, was, in some instances, remarkably contradictory.

In a particular case, it was made a charge, and considered a suspicious circumstance, because the name of the supercargo was not on the *Role d' Equipage*; in another the same inference was drawn from the fact that the supercargo was included in the *Role d' Equipage*, "which," said the decree, "is not customary in America, though common in England." It was strange to see a nation that had often contended for the rights of neutrality, preying upon the neutral commerce with the ferocity of sharks and vultures. At length the cry of these despoiled mariners reached the ears of the American government, and George W Erving, Esq., formerly consul in London, at a later period *Charge d' Affaires* in Spain, was despatched on a special mission to the court of Denmark to negotiate for the release of American property so long detained in her ports. This gentleman was a warm personal friend of Capt. Law, regarding him with even brotherly kindness. He arrived in Copenhagen June 1, 1811. By his exertions and the force of documents that could not be questioned, brought with him from America, most of the vessels not already condemned were cleared. All the arts of preying, bribery and corruption were brought to bear against the *Egeria*, but by great efforts on the part of Mr. Erving she was acquitted and allowed to go free on the payment of costs, and a *douceur* of \$100 to her captors. From the time of capture to the order for release was four hundred and twenty-five days, which, at the estimated expense of \$61 per day, made a demurrage of \$25,925, exclusive of other expenses during this unjust detention, which raised the claim against the vessel to

\$33,000. Upon the decision in favor of the *Egeria*, Capt. Law immediately hastened to Gottenburg, and from thence proceeded by land in the wretched vehicles of the country, which, for most of the way, were even worse than his former experience had led him to expect, being nothing more than the bottom of a cart, without seat or springs. This was a journey of seven hundred miles, the last fifty of which was performed on foot, as being less wearisome than the cart. The coarse and scanty fare of the country made the journey still more intolerable; not a morsel of fish, fowl or meat of any kind was met with on this route, almost the sole article of food to be obtained being the harsh black bread for which Norway is famous. Having joined the ship, she was soon, by great exertions, made ready for sea, and they bade adieu to Fahrsand, hoping yet that a prosperous run to St. Petersburg would enable them to make a saving voyage. "We have at length escaped," wrote the Captain to his friends, "the pangs of the vultures that have been so long preying upon us in this elbow of the earth." Unfortunately the entrance to the Baltic was, at this period, beset with French privateers, who it would seem were lurking near the Norway shore purposely to entrap the American vessels as fast as they should be released. The ill-fated *Egeria* fell into their clutches before she had left the Danish jurisdiction, and while a friendly Danish Captain, who had undertaken to be their pilot, was still on board; she was taken into Copenhagen as a prize, and here the harassed Captain was compelled to retrace the weary stages of application and defence. Another whole season he was detained in that city, for it was not till December that the ship was declared free by the high court, and her papers restored. But it was now so late in the season, and the hazard of recapture so great, that after much deliberation Capt. Law resolved to apply for the royal permission to unlade and sell in Denmark. This was granted on condition of depositing the proceeds in the public treasury and withdrawing it only in regular instalments of government paper. Capt. Law was, at this time, the life and soul of the American party at Copenhagen. Amidst all the vexatious obstacles that he encountered, his vivacity never left him. Among other outbreaks of his humor, which tended to enliven the gloom of his companions, was a parody on "Hamlet's soliloquy," which will show the dilemma in which he was placed.

"To sell or go to Russia! that's the question!
 Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
 The owners' frowns, and threats of underwriters,
 Or try the terrors of the Gulf of Finland, fulfilling orders?
 But a good voyage, aye, there's the rub; for in that fever-
 ish dream
 We've been as much deceived as were our owners.
 Sell, then, and shuffle off these dreadful cargoes before
 they're wholly lost.
 For who can bear an eternity of trials,
 Through vicious courts led by the testimony
 Of perjured privateersmen? Say, shall we sue for this,
 When we ourselves can our quietus make
 By depositing in the treasury? Who can bear
 The risk of being ordered to quit port
 In this inclement season—sharks too abroad,
 From whose hungry jaws no American is safe;
 This makes us rather meet the losses here,
 Than fly to others that we so much dread,
 (Those sharks make cowards of defenceless neutrals,)
 Oh! were we sure the money would retain
 Its worth, we'd risk the censure, sell
 And close the unprofitable voyage.
 But should a general crash of Denmark's blues
 Take place, perchance our owner's fall
 Might follow, and o'erwhelm us all together."

The cargo of the *Egeria* being discharged, she was reloaded with all possible despatch, with Swedish iron and German goods and sent home in charge of the mate, Capt. Law remaining behind to complete the sales, invest the proceeds and finish up all the business of the ship. She sailed from Copenhagen April 24, 1812, having the private secretary of Mr. Erving on board, with despatches for the American government. No less than seven French privateers were lurking between Kohl point and Elsinour, and the ship would have been inevitably seized again, had not Mr. Erving obtained for her the protection of the Danish government, who put an officer and guard on board to see the vessel safe out to sea. Before reaching the American coast, however, the *Egeria* was again captured, making the third time in one voyage. She was now taken by an English vessel, and was the first prize made by the British after the declaration of war against that country by

the United States. She was ordered by her captors to Halifax, but before reaching that port, she was driven ashore in a storm upon our own territory, and a part of the cargo saved, but the vessel lost.

To conclude the eventful history of the *Egeria*, we may state that she was insured, both at Boston and New York; in the latter place against sea risk, and in the former against capture by the enemy. Suits were instituted against both offices, but owing to the peculiar circumstances of the case, the wreck taking place while in the hands of the enemy, nothing was obtained, the suit being lost in both instances. In the mean time, Capt. Law met with many harassing delays in the business of the ship, and when at last he was prepared to leave, no mode of returning to his home occurred which was not fraught with great danger and difficulty. It was a day of almost universal warfare. Disappointment, fear and disaster had clipped the wings of commerce, and opportunities to cross the ocean were neither frequent nor eligible. He at length embarked, with several other Americans, in the returning pilot boat, which had carried out information of the war to Copenhagen and St. Petersburg. This was a small vessel without the necessary ballast, and it proved leaky. They met with tempestuous weather, and the frail, unbalanced craft, tossed about like an egg-shell upon the waters, until at last, in a violent gale, her masts gave way and were swept overboard. The storm continued—she was driven upon one of the reefs off the coast of North Carolina, and wrecked. No lives were lost. Capt. Law, with Mr. Livingston, a young fellow-passenger, floated ashore on a hog'shead. Thus, after a long and deplorable delay in Denmark, during which he had been exposed to all that cupidity, corruption and bribery could do to injure him, and after a series of disasters and personal hardships, he was once more in his native country, and though without money or clothes, a stranger on an unknown coast, it was yet *America*. He readily obtained the means to reach Washington, where his brother Lyman Law, Esq., was then attending his duties as member of Congress. From thence he hastened homeward, and by crossing the Hudson in a severe, driving snow storm, arrived at his own house in New York, during the night, and found that his family had not before heard of his leaving Europe. This was in the winter of 1812.

During the three successive years, Capt. Law was principally engaged in the carrying trade between Savannah and the West Indies. In 1816 he sailed from Savannah with a cargo of rice for

Cadiz, where he arrived April 27th, after a tedious voyage, in which he encountered gales, head-winds and calms. He was in Cadiz when the Infanta of Portugal arrived from Brazil, to become, by marriage with the sovereign, Queen of Spain, and also when that royal devotee, Ferdinand, came thither in great pomp, to adorn the image of the virgin with the embroidered shirt, which he had wrought with his own hands. And now Capt. Law, returning from Spain, bade adieu to the restless ocean, on whose bosom he had been going and coming for about forty years.

In March, 1818, he took the command of the steamer *Fulton* running from New London to New Haven, and in connection with Capt. Bunker in the *Connecticut*, forming a line to New Haven. These were the first steamers on the Sound, but Capt. Law was not the first commander in this line, Capt. Bunker having run the *Connecticut* the preceding season. These boats made three trips per week, and the fare was \$8.00. The stage fare from New London to Boston was the same, making \$16.00 from New York to Boston. The great reductions of fare that has since taken place, was then scarcely anticipated by those most confident in the ultimate triumph of steam navigation. Capt. Law continued in the *Fulton* for five years, and was ever highly esteemed, both as an excellent officer and a true gentleman. To many persons, the agreeable qualities of the commander were not the least recommendation to this route through the Sound. A passenger who made a trip with him in 1818, left these lines on board:

CAPT. LAW OF THE FULTON.

Pleased with the flowing converse of our chief,
 How swift the moments fly,—the voyage how brief !
 For he o'er many a clime has past, and well
 The romance of his varied life can tell.
 While yet a boy he left the bowers of Yale,
 To breast the wave, and woo the inconstant gale.
 Firm in his country's cause he dared to be,
 And fought her foes upon the billowy sea.
 In hostile climes, on many a distant shore,
 Wreck, famine and captivity he bore.
 His daring sails by every wind unfurled,
 Have spread their white wings o'er the watery world.
 Doomed every sea and ocean crest to plow,
 There rolls no wave that hath not wet his prow,
 Till fixed by Heaven at last, he here presides,
 And guides this fairy frigate o'er the tides.

In 1822, Capt. Law was appointed Collector of the Port of New London, and held the office during two terms of four years each. Seldom does a man, whose life has been one of such constant activity, enterprise and exposure, number so many years. Though death had so often approached near to him, looking him, as it were, in the face, and marking his prey—in wreck, in storm, in disease, in captivity, and at the cannon's mouth—yet the evening of his days came on in peace and serenity. His intellectual eye was not dim, the energy of his mind was not enfeebled, the fine feelings of his heart were not rendered obtuse, until in the bosom of domestic affection—the pillow of death smoothed by the hands of beloved daughters, he gently passed from earth. Many there were, even out of the endeared circle of relatives, who, with the writer of this article, breathed a deep sigh that they should see his face and hear his voice no more.

NEW LONDON, JAN., 1846.

ANCESTORS OF CAPT. LAW.

Richard Law, an original emigrant from England, settled in Stamford, Conn. His wife was Margaret, daughter of John Kilbourn. His son, Jonathan, settled in Milford, Conn. Jonathan was born 1637, married Sarah, daughter of George Clark, of Milford, Jan. 1, 1664. Children, one; Jonathan, born Aug. 6, 1674, and others.

Jonathan second, married Ann Elliott of Guilford, Dec. 20, 1698, and had three children, Jahleel, Sarah and Ann. His wife died Feb. 15, 1705-6; he married second Abigail Arnold, and had one child, Jonathan, born Dec. 5, 1705. He was married the third time on the 1st of August, 1706, to Abigail, daughter of Rev. Samuel Andrews, of Milford; three children, Jahleel, Abigail and Samuel. His fourth wife was from Fairfield, a widow lady of the name of Burr. His fifth wife, the widow of Samuel Andrews, Jr., of Wallingford. This lady, whose maiden name was Eunice Hall, survived him, and subsequently married Col. Pitkin, of Hartford. The children of this fifth marriage were Richard and Sarah. Jonathan Law was Governor of the Colony of Connecticut, from May, 1741 to his death, Nov. 6, 1750. Richard, the only son by the fifth and last wife, was born at Milford, March 17, 1732-3, and graduated at Yale College 1751. He settled in New London as a practising attorney in 1757 or 1758, and married Anna, daughter of Capt. John Prentis, Sept. 21, 1760. In June, 1774, he was one of the committee of correspondence at New London, and modera-

tor of the meeting for liberty. July 13, 1774, he was nominated by the State Committee of Correspondence, (with Dr. Johnson and Governor Trumbull,) to the Legislature, for member of the Continental Correspondence, but declined the appointment from the necessity of previous inoculation for the small pox. In 1776 he was member of the State Council of Safety; in June, added to the Board of Assistants; in July, requested by the Legislature to compile a code of Naval laws; in October, elected a delegate to Congress, and excused from serving in the Council of Safety; in Congress, 1777; again from 1781 to 1784; 1784 Judge of the Supreme Court; in 1786 Chief Justice; 1789 District Judge. In 1801 the friends of Judge Law were desirous of placing his name on the electoral ticket as a candidate to the office of Governor of Connecticut. This honor he publicly declined.

(FOR THE GAZETTE.)

It having been suggested to me, that some have had it in contemplation to hold me up as a candidate, at the next election, to fill the seat of the first magistrate of the State, I beg leave to inform my fellow citizens, (though indeed it may be considered a needless caution,) that if any should be so disposed, to prevent throwing away their suffrages upon the occasion, that I wish not to be considered a competitor with any one for that office, and that should so improbable and unexpected an event take place, as the choice falling on me, I should wholly decline accepting thereof. At my period of life, and at a time when our political atmosphere seems clouded with contending vapours and jarring elements, I should feel myself utterly unqualified to enter upon such an important station, and should be very averse to embark upon the unstable, fluctuating billows of popularity, through which to steer aright and give general satisfaction, would require much greater abilities, skill, experience and popular talents than fall to my share. Therefore, inclination and duty, in justice to myself and the publick, would compel me decidedly to decline accepting of such an appointment.

RICHARD LAW.

New London, March 6, 1801. (Copied from the *Gazette*.)

Richard Law, Jr., (or Capt. Richard Law,) married Lucretia, daughter of Dr. Simon Wolcott. Their children were seven, two sons and five daughters. One son and one daughter died in infancy, the other son, Richard, died in early manhood at New Orleans.

RECORDS
AND
PAPERS
OF THE
NEW LONDON COUNTY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

PART II. VOLUME I.



Very sincerely

Henry D. Warren

RECORDS
AND
P A P E R S
OF THE
NEW LONDON COUNTY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

PART II. VOLUME I.

41286 V'
ARRANGED BY THE SECRETARY.

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY :
NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT.
1890.

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1890.

THE DAY PRINT., NEW LONDON.

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OFFICERS

OF THE

NEW LONDON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 6TH, 1891.

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HON. CHARLES AUGUSTUS WILLIAMS, OF NEW LONDON.

VICE-PRESIDENTS,

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HON. BENJAMIN STARK, OF NEW LONDON.

HON. WILLIAM A. SLATER, OF NORWICH.

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HON. H. WALES LINES, OF MERIDEN.

DR. AMOS LAWRENCE MASON, OF BOSTON.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The annual meeting of the New London County Historical Society, was called to order at 11 a. m., September 6, 1890, the Hon. Benjamin Stark, Vice-President, in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

The report of the Treasurer was then read. It showed a balance in favor of the Society, and this being the first time that the financial year had opened so auspiciously, the report was ordered on file with much pleasure.

The Chairman of the Printing Committee reported that the volume of records and papers, ordered at the last meeting, had been printed and met with universal praise. It contained one hundred and thirty-two printed pages, five portraits and two plates, and the total cost of printing the book and plates, and for expressage, postage and other expenses, was \$247.50. Subscriptions and sales had covered \$190.50, and there were unpaid subscriptions and books to the extent of \$100 left to meet the deficit. The printing fund had not been touched to help in this, and the publication had met with such favor that it seemed wise to print another part of the records and papers during the autumn.

The report was accepted and the Printing Committee was continued, with directions to prepare and issue another part of the records and papers.

The Secretary's report was then read, and ordered on file.

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen :

It is a disappointment to your Secretary not to be able to make this report in the permanent rooms, to which the Society will, it is hoped, soon remove, and which its President, at our last annual meeting, thought it would be able to occupy on this occasion. It is due to the gentlemen having charge of the construction

of the building, to say that this result is not owing to lack of endeavor on their part, but to unfortunate circumstances that have hindered its completion, notably the strike of the stone carvers and workers. Because of this, the building still remains in the hands of the contractors, and as occupancy would imply acceptance of the building, it will be seen that the trustees of the building were compelled to delay the location of the Society in its permanent quarters.

It is with sincere regret and sorrow that the Secretary announces the death of four members of the Society, all belonging to the number identified with the early history of our association, and all useful and helpful in its time of struggle. The names are, Mrs. Anna Haven Perkins, Mrs. Mary A. Dickenson, Major John W. Crary and Dr. Robert A. Manwaring. Major Crary and Mrs. Dickenson were specially noted for their interest in the Society, and their endeavor to advance its purpose and usefulness. Mrs. Dickenson was generous in her gifts as well as in her endeavors, and the Society possesses many evidences of her liberality. The loss, in each case, is a severe one to our Society.

It is a pleasure to state that the membership list and financial statistics of the Society show a very marked improvement. It has been the endeavor of the Treasurer and Secretary to increase interest in the Society, and their efforts have met with much success, a success that they feel will be largely increased when the permanent quarters receive the Society's collections.

It is also a great pleasure to your Secretary to state that the first regular publication of the Society has been issued, and has met with marked success. Kind words have greeted its appearance, and requests for copies have been received from many societies not before on our exchange list. Reviews have been generous in praise, and the Society has gained much by the publication. No better way to increase the library of the Society could be inaugurated, for the volumes that are annually issued by kindred societies, constantly increase in number and historic value, and these are readily exchanged for our publications. A case in point is that of the New York State library, with which your Secretary was able to exchange to great advantage to the Society. The generous support of the members has made the book a financial success, as well as a help to the library. The subscriptions and sales have nearly paid for the expense, and a considerable number of books still remain on hand, the sale of which will leave a surplus in the treasury, and this sale is simply a matter of time, as it is but fair to

suppose that when located in its permanent rooms, the Society will receive a largely increased membership, and each member will desire a complete file of the publications issued. It is proposed to publish the second part of volume 1 this fall, and while it will not be so large as the first part, it will contain much interesting matter.

The Society has received many valuable additions to its library during the year. The donors in kindred societies were the Buffalo Historical Society, Oneida Historical Society, Rhode Island Historical Society, Wyoming Historical Society, Wisconsin Historical Society, Southern California Historical Society, Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, Iowa Historical Society, Western Reserve Historical Society, New Jersey Historical Society, New York Historical Society, Dedham Historical Society, Hyde Park Historical Society, New York State Library, Yale College, Connecticut Historical Society, Connecticut State Library, Hartford Board of Trade, Norwich Board of Trade, and Belfast Free Library.

Donations have also been received from Mrs. LaFayette S. Foster; Hon. John T. Wait, Hon. Charles A. Russell, P. H. Woodward, Esq., C. C. Gardiner, Esq., S. Westinghouse, Esq., Sidney O. Ryder, Esq., J. Mortimer Montgomery, Esq., Gurdon W. Russell, Esq., Silas S. Hawley, Esq., Hon. Charles Tubbs and James N. Arnold, Esq. Other contributors were the Forum Company, The New York Tribune, and the Guilford Settlement Anniversary Committee.

The contribution of Mr. J. N. Arnold was a complete file of the Narragansett Historical Register, a magazine devoted to the history and antiquities of the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, and the present State of Rhode Island, with such interesting matter referring to the bordering States of Connecticut and Massachusetts as is identified with this, a most valuable and interesting contribution.

You will thus see, gentlemen, that the condition and standing of the Society has materially improved during the year, and it is earnestly requested of each member that he make endeavor to add to our membership list and collections, as this will mean a wider usefulness.

Several contributions have been promised as soon as the Society moves into its permanent quarters, so the prospect is indeed one on which our Society can be congratulated.

Respectfully submitted,

THOS. S. COLLIER, Secretary.

The Secretary then proposed the following names for membership: Annual members, Messrs. Charles A. Benjamin, Nelson J. Allender and John G. Stanton, M. D., all of New London, and for life member, Charles Turner, of Birmingham, Ala. They were unanimously elected.

A motion was then made that the Chair appoint a committee to present suitable resolutions in the matter of the deaths mentioned in the Secretary's report, and Messrs. C. B. Ware and John McGinley were appointed.

The Society was then addressed by the Hon. George S. Hazard, an honorary member of the Society, and President of the Buffalo Historical Society. Mr. Hazard's remarks were very interesting, and the thanks of the Society were extended to the gentleman.

The committee appointed to take action regarding the death of members then reported as follows:

WHEREAS, God, in His wisdom, has removed from us our late associates Anna Haven Perkins, Mary A. Dickenson, John W. Crary and Robert A. Manwaring.

Resolved, That this Society recognizes in the death of the members named, who were associated with it from its earliest history, and who, by word and deed, showed that their hearts held no lukewarm interest in its welfare, a severe and sorrow-fraught loss, and that its sincere and heartfelt sympathies are herewith extended to the families that have been so greatly bereft.

Resolved, That these resolutions be spread upon the Society's records, and copies furnished to the families of our late members, and to the press for publication.

The report was accepted and approved.

The Treasurer then reported that there was a donation of \$100 toward fitting up the new rooms, and asked that a committee be appointed to take that matter in charge as soon as the rooms became available. The Chair appointed C. B. Ware, Frederick Bill and Thos. S. Collier such committee.

The meeting then adjourned.

Attest,

THOS. S. COLLIER, Secretary.

ADDRESS

OF THE

HON. LAFAYETTE S. FOSTER,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

NEW LONDON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

IN

OLD FORT GRISWOLD.

GROTON HEIGHTS, CONNECTICUT,

SEPT. 6th. 1880.

THE ADDRESS.

On this spot, hallowed in every patriotic heart, we are again assembled to honor and to cherish the memory of the illustrious dead. But one year is wanting to complete the century, ninety-nine years having passed by since the ground on which we stand was wet with the life blood of patriots and heroes. Those patriots and heroes were our fathers. They gave their lives for us and ours, and for their native land.

Many times on this anniversary day, with spirit stirring music, and greeted by peals of artillery, the stately procession has wound up these Heights, waving aloft our national banner, glorious in its beauty, glorious in its history, and still more glorious as the sign and symbol of liberty.

It was under this flag that our fathers here fought, counting not their lives dear to them if sacrificed in its defense. This flag was then scarcely known among national ensigns. A few friendly powers had recognized the new Republic, but our independence was not fully assured, and we still had our place to win in the family of nations. Less than three millions of people, and a narrow strip of country bordering on the Atlantic coast between the river St. Croix on the northeast and the St. Mary's on the southwest, comprised our territory and our population. Now the whole boundless continent is not, indeed, yet ours; but we have a country vast in extent, ocean-bounded on two cardinal points of the compass, and a population but little, if any, short of fifty millions. Instead of thirteen feeble colonies, with the original thirteen stripes and dimly twinkling stars on our national banner, we now have thirty-eight states, some as large and powerful as empires, and on the folds of our flags are emblazoned a constellation of thirty-eight stars, the gladsome light of which irradiates the nations.

Three generations of men have passed from the stage of life since the events transpired which we this day commemorate. It has been the custom from the beginning to observe the day with

fitting ceremonies and appropriate honors. Let us not fail in the pious duty which has been so worthily performed by the generations before us. They paid their debt, not ours; that, we alone can pay. Each generation, not the past only, but each succeeding generation through all the coming years, will owe an infinite debt of gratitude to the noble and gallant men, whose bones lie mouldering here. Far, very far distant, be the day when the services of this anniversary shall be regarded as tedious, unnecessary or superfluous, and so be omitted and forgotten. Only when patriotism becomes lukewarm can such things be; and a lukewarm patriot is no better than a lukewarm corpse. The sons of sires who perished here will cherish the memory of their fathers so long as they shall be worthy of their glorious inheritance. Every son of Groton and of this vicinity, will hallow this spot so long as love of liberty and love of country find a home in his bosom. For myself, appreciating highly the honor done me in being invited to make the address on this occasion, I am not guilty of the presumption of supposing that I shall say aught that is new, or that has not perhaps been better said before. I bring a few garlands of evergreen, a few autumnal flowers. Bear with me, if I do little more than strew them over the graves of these venerated dead.

In paying this tribute to their memory, let us not be unmindful of the debt of gratitude we owe to the Great Ruler of the universe, the God of battles and of nations, for the great and manifold blessings which, through all the years, He has so bountifully poured out upon this our own, our native land.

It is no part of our purpose, in desiring to perpetuate the memory of this day, to keep alive or to excite feelings of hostility against the government or people of Great Britain. The most peaceful and amicable relations subsist between that government and ours. So may it ever be. Whoever shall stir up strife between us is not only an enemy to both countries but an enemy to human progress and the best interests of the human race.

England was the home of our fathers—their mother country. It is true she showed them, at home, more of the attributes of a step-mother, a harsh, unfeeling step-mother, than of a natural parent; and when they migrated to these then inhospitable shores, she followed them with vexatious demands and exactions wholly unwarranted by the constitution of the realm. Remonstrance proved unavailing, and our fathers resisted. The voice of Europe was on the side of the colonies. Frederic of Prussia, usually styled the Great—and if military capacity of the highest order,

coupled with wonderful ability for governing his kingdom in time of peace, can entitle him to the epithet, he richly deserved it—wrote to his minister at London, in the autumn of 1775, these words: “The treatment of the colonies appears to me to be the first step towards despotism. If in this the King should succeed he will by and by attempt to impose his own will upon the mother country.” And afterwards, with reference to the proclamation of George the Third in these words: “It seems to me very hard to proclaim as rebels free subjects who only defend their privileges against the depotism of a ministry.” And yet again: “The more I reflect on the measures of the British government, the more they appear to me arbitrary and despotic. The British constitution itself seems to authorize resistance. That the court has provoked its colonies to resistance nobody can doubt.” Frederic, it should be observed, was a grandson of George the First, and not to be suspected of any hostility to the crown of England. His lineage and training certainly gave him no undue bias toward liberal government or free institutions. As a soldier, but three in all history before him, Alexander, Caesar and Hannibal, and but once since his time, Napoleon, are worthy to be compared with him. The wisest statesmen of England, in both houses of Parliament, pronounced our fathers in the right. A stubborn ministry persisted in their tyrannical course, and our fathers obtained independence. It is doubtful if any enlightened British statesman of this generation could be found, who would not now agree that the resistance of the colonies to the claims of the crown was not fully warranted by the plain principles of the British constitution.

What progress has the world made in human government in the last hundred years! What a contrast between the Tory ministry of Lord North, under King George the Third, in the last century, and the present ministry of Great Britain, under the beneficent reign of her majesty, Queen Victoria! How cheering to all lovers of liberty and free institutions, to look at the principles of government enunciated by Mr. Gladstone during the late canvass for the election of members of the present House of Commons! In one of his speeches made in Scotland, he enunciated six points by which he thought the foreign policy of the country should be guided; the sixth and last of which was: “To see that our policy is inspired by a love of liberty.” The principles advocated by Mr. Gladstone were, as you know, triumphantly sustained at the polls, and he was called upon to form a ministry, and has formed one conformably to his views. One of its prominent members, belong-

ing to the aristocracy, the Right Hon. Earl Spencer, made a speech at the annual dinner of the Cobden Club, given a few weeks ago, in which he commented on the principles of policy laid down by Mr. Gladstone, to which I have alluded, enumerating them one by one. They were chiefly these: "To maintain good government at home;" "peace among the nations of the earth;" "to acknowledge the equal rights of all nations;" and then the crowning one which I have already quoted, but it well bears repetition: "To see that our policy is inspired by a love of liberty." Lord Spencer said: "Nothing more distinct, in the shape of declarations of what the proper foreign policy of this country should be has ever been enunciated. They are sentiments which I think will find support amongst liberals, not only in England, but throughout the world. It is on these principles that I hope the foreign policy of the present government will be based."

Was I not right in saying that it was cheering when a British cabinet, speaking by its Prime Minister, a Commoner, and by the lips of the Lord President of the Council, a peer of Parliament, puts forth doctrines like these? These are the principles of our Declaration of Independence, of the fathers of our constitution. They are the principles on which the Republic of the United States is founded, principles of right, and truth, and eternal justice. We are proud to call England our mother country when she avows and acts upon principles like these. We forget and forgive the strifes and wars of the past, and, proud of our kindred blood, cordially extend to her the warm right hand of national fellowship and of national friendship.

No small part of the history of every nation is taken up with accounts of the wars in which it has been engaged. We of this generation are unfortunately too familiar with its desolations and its horrors. The fearful evils that follow in the train of wars, when ended, and which those who come off triumphantly in the contest can never escape, would seem to be sufficient to preserve an unbroken peace. It has been a favorite idea with many that as mankind made progress in knowledge, in morals, in the arts and sciences, in civilization and refinement, wars would cease to be. The invention of gunpowder, that fearful agent in the work of death, the long list of destructive weapons, the cunningly-devised machinery, the terrible enginery of modern warfare by which masses of men can be swept instantaneously out of existence—all these, it has been said, tend to make wars impossible. Philanthropists of various climes and countries have combined their efforts to promote

and establish peace between nations, and to substitute some mode of adjusting national controversies besides the bloody arbitrament of war. Hitherto all these anticipations that wars were to cease have proved groundless; all these efforts to establish peace are as yet fruitless. Though peace prevails on the continent of Europe and throughout the world, with the exception of some little fighting in the South American States and in the Indies, yet vast bodies of armed men are maintained by the various nations of the earth. Returns show that of the great continental powers of Europe, Russia has an army of seven hundred and eighty thousand men; Germany over four hundred thousand; France, five hundred thousand; Austria, two hundred and seventy-five thousand; Italy, two hundred and fifty thousand. Thus in a time of profound peace on the continent of Europe, in five of the continental powers, we have the startling number of two millions two hundred and five thousand men, in the most active period of their lives, entirely withdrawn from all productive pursuits, and devoted exclusively to the drill and discipline of soldiers. This number, however, is but a portion; many more must be added to complete the list in Europe. Taking Great Britain and the European powers not comprised in the foregoing estimate, we must add at least a million more men to the number already stated. The little republic of San Marino, so small in territory as scarcely to make a point on the map of Europe, and with a population in 1874 of seven thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, has an army of nine hundred and fifty men. In Asia, China alone has an army of one million two hundred thousand men. Omitting our own country and the South American States, all of whose armies are small compared with the armies of Europe—that of Brazil, the largest, being less than fifty thousand men—and omitting many portions of the earth from which we have imperfect and unreliable returns, we enumerate four millions five hundred thousand of men now embodied and ready for the field as armed soldiers. A spark may, in a moment, kindle into flame these most inflammable materials; and thus a wave of fire and blood may speedily overspread the fairest portions of the earth.

The slightest and most trivial causes have oftentimes sufficed to produce desolating wars. Others have had their origin in ambition, and in the worst passions of human nature, hatred, revenge. War is undoubtedly the greatest curse that can befall a nation. Still we must regard some wars as justifiable and necessary. When such wars break out, when the rights and liberties of

a free people are in a deadly peril ; when the hand of the destroyer is stretched forth to lay waste their possessions and bring desolation and ruin to their homes and firesides, the highest and noblest attributes of the human mind are then brought into intense, living action. The tongue of eloquence then becomes endowed with a superhuman power, and while listening to the words of the patriotic orator, speaking from his fiery heart, it seems in very deed as though the gods had come down to us in the likeness of men. In the days that preceded our revolutionary struggle, Patrick Henry and James Otis bowed the hearts of the men of Virginia and the men of Massachusetts as the heart of one man.

Great and well deserved as is the tribute of honor and praise that we render to those whose burning words stimulate to deeds of heroic valor, still, the highest meed, the brightest diadem with which to adorn earthly brows is reserved for men, who, when duty calls, go forth to fight, perchance to die, in defense of the homes, the firesides and the liberties of themselves and their fellow countrymen. We instinctively give up our hearts without reservation to such heroes and defenders. We honor them while living; we revere them when dead. What true American does not feel the blood warm at his heart at the name of GEORGE WASHINGTON !

Let us glance at the situation of our country as it was just prior to the day we commemorate, in September, 1781. The battle of Saratoga had been fought, and a glorious victory won for our arms four years before. Professor, afterward Sir E. F. Creasy, reckons this one of the decisive battles of the world from Marathon to Waterloo. It had wonderful effect on our cause in Europe, giving, as it did, full assurance that the colonies were able to achieve and maintain their own independence. That independence was soon recognized by foreign powers. Nations like individuals find friends most numerous when least needed. Burgoyne's march from Canada towards Albany, during the spring and summer of 1777 had met with no interruption except the check at Oriskany from the brave Herkimer, and the check of Bennington from the no less brave Stark. Those disasters were to detachments only, and it was regarded in Europe almost as a forgone conclusion that Burgoyne with his army would reach Albany. A line of posts would then be established from Canada to the city of New York, and as Great Britain had control of the sea coast, all communication between New England and the States south would be completely cut off. Gates and Arnold, or rather the brave men under them, changed all that.

During the subsequent four years, neither side gained any decided advantage. Several brilliant affairs took place, the most brilliant of all was the taking of Stony Point by storm, by Gen. Wayne on the 16th of July, 1779. The assault was made at midnight, and the work was carried wholly by the bayonet. Two advanced parties of twenty men each were thrown forward to remove obstructions, and out of one of these parties of twenty, seventeen were killed or wounded. In the same month and year, July, 1779, Gen. Tryon made a raid from New York into Connecticut by way of Long Island Sound. He first landed at New Haven, then at Fairfield, and then at Norwalk, burning, plundering and destroying property. The stay of the enemy was short. They passed but a single night in any of these towns, after which they returned to their vessels. A foreign foe has never found Connecticut a desirable stopping place. In these instances they tarried but a night. No doubt they wisely anticipated that should they risk sleeping on our soil a second night, it might be the sleep that knows no waking. Our poet, Halleck, spoke historically as well as poetically, in saying that Connecticut was a land

"Where friends will find a welcome,
Foes a grave."

The year 1780 was a dark year for our country. In May of that year there were but seven thousand continental troops embodied between the Chesapeake and Canada. On the first week in June, Washington had under him but three thousand seven hundred and sixty men fit for duty. In September of this year, Arnold made his name forever infamous by his treason to his country. The campaign in the South has been almost a succession of defeats and disasters. Perhaps the most significant event in these three years following Burgoyne's surrender was the vote of the Methodists of the United States at their general meeting in 1780, that "slave keeping was contrary to the law of God, man and nature."

In May, 1781, Washington and Rochambeau met at Wethersfield, and agreed on a plan for the campaign. Clinton held New York and Cornwallis was in Virginia. It was agreed that the American and French land forces, together with the French naval force, should be concentrated on the Chesapeake. Clinton was thoroughly deceived, thinking that the movement was to be made, not on Virginia, but on New York. He had sent Arnold to Virginia in January before, and he was there in command in May, when Cornwallis arrived from the South. Superceding Arnold in

command of the British troop, and despising him too heartily to allow him to remain in his camp, he ordered him back to New York. Clinton remained under the delusion till near the first of September that Washington was designing to attack him in New York.

Arnold, who no doubt was eager for employment, now obtained the command of the expedition to this place. The details of his operations are too familiar to you to justify me in detaining you long in rehearsing them. With about two thousand troops he crossed over from Long Island and landed on our shores on the morning of the 6th of September, 1781. About one-half of the force headed by Arnold himself, landed on the west side of the harbor, a little below the lighthouse, and made their way toward New London. The other half, under the immediate command of Col. Eyre, landed on the east, or Groton side of the river, and marched toward this point. Two forts, if works so insignificant as these were in a military point of view may properly be so called, were the only defences of the harbor. Fort Trumbull on the New London side, was open to the west, or land side, and was therefore wholly indefensible to an attack from that quarter. Capt. Shapley, the commanding officer, had been ordered to abandon the fort on the approach of the enemy, and with his little band of men, to cross the river and join the garrison here. Accordingly, after firing a volley on the attacking column, and spiking the guns in his batteries, he took to his boats and crossed the river to this place. The enemy's vessels were so close upon him that seven of his men were wounded by the fire from their decks, and one of his boats was captured.

To Colonel William Ledyard the command of these two forts, and the protection of these towns had been entrusted. On the first alarm in the morning he had sent messengers to the Governor to inform him of the situation. After giving his orders to the officer in command at Fort Trumbull, he took a boat at the ferry on the New London side to cross over to this fort, which he determined to hold. To some friends, who gathered around him to shake hands at parting, he said, as he stepped into the boat, "If I must lose to-day honor or life, you, who know me, will know which it will be."

This gallant man, with about one hundred and fifty others, made the garrison of this little work.

The attacking column, under Col. Eyre, was halted in its approach, and a flag was sent forward to demand the surrender of the fort. Col. Ledyard called a council of war and the opinion

was unanimous in favor of resistance. "We shall not surrender, let the consequences be what they may," was the answer returned.

The assault was made. The defense was all that so few imperfectly armed men, two-thirds of whom were wholly undisciplined and unacquainted with the customs and usages of war, could make it. That such an imperfect work as this was, and so imperfectly manned should be able to hold out against such a powerful attacking force, was not to be hoped for. The brave little garrison was overpowered, and the enemy, in overwhelming numbers, entered the fort. Col. Eyre, the British commanding officer, and Major Montgomery, the second in command, both fell in the assault outside the works. The slaughter of our men went on after the fort was entered and the garrison had laid down their arms. Between eighty and ninety of the devoted band were killed—between thirty and forty wounded, many of them mortally. The loss of the enemy, it is believed, was between two and three hundred men, though Arnold's report made it somewhat less: forty-eight killed and one hundred and forty-five wounded, and the first and second in command being, as already stated, among the number of the killed.

Such, in brief, was the event that we this day commemorate. It occupies but little space on the page of history. Those who are accustomed to judge of the importance of battles by the number of men engaged, or the number who fall on the field, will doubtless consider this a very unimportant and insignificant affair. The men of this vicinity certainly regard it otherwise. It is well, it is wise, it is noble, that they should do so. A Spartan King and three hundred men threw themselves as a barrier before the uncounted hosts of Xerxes, and perished in defense of their country. In all human history, what deed of arms, though performed by thousands, is encircled with such a halo of glory as surrounds Leonidas and the three hundred at Thermopylae? What epitaph so glorious as that inscribed on the column erected where they fell? "Stranger, go and tell the Lacedemonians that we lie here in obedience to her laws." The stern laws of Sparta punished with death the soldier who left the battle-field in the face of an enemy.

The slaughter of our men after they had laid down their arms on the taking of the fort, we have always considered as an unnecessarily cruel and barbarous act. Such, no doubt, it was, and yet it must be admitted that the laws of war do justify the victors who take a fortress by storm in refusing quarter to the captured garrison. A brave enemy usually disdains to avail himself of a law so repugnant to every generous and noble feeling. None but a

coward's hand will strike a fallen, unresisting foe. Two years before this time, the fortress at Stony Point was assaulted and carried by storm by our troops. Though the attack was at midnight, when the wild and fierce passions which a hand-to-hand fight must necessarily engender, are free from the restraints which the daylight imposes, and horrible deeds may be done because the darkness seems to cover them, yet it stands recorded that not one man in the fortress was put to death except in fair combat. The British authorities praised the magnanimity of our troops; and admitted that they would have been justified in putting every man to the sword. We set them an example too lofty for them to follow.

At a later period, in the following month of October, on the night of the 4th, five weeks after this fort was taken, two advanced redoubts, making part of the fortifications with which Lord Cornwallis had surrounded himself and his army at Yorktown, which was then invested by the French and American armies were taken by storm. One of these redoubts was taken by the French, one by the Americans. Col. Hamilton commanded the American attacking column, and the redoubt assigned to him was carried by the bayonet, without firing a gun. Not a man of the enemy was injured, after he ceased to resist. Our soldiers thus showed to the British army and to the world, not only that they would not make a precedent for refusing quarter to an enemy asking it, but that they would not be provoked by a barbarous example of a contrary character into retaliation.

But whatever may be said in palliation of the refusal of quarter to this brave little garrison after its surrender, the laws and usages of war, barbarous as they are, furnish no apology for the act of killing the commander, the brave Colonel Ledyard. Who the perpetrator of this foul crime was, is not absolutely certain. It is better that his name, even if known, should be buried in the infamy which surrounds it, rather than it should ever again be spoken.

Overpowering numbers having entered the fort, the fighting ceased, and our men laid down their arms. A British officer, apparently in command, called out, "Who commands this fort?" The gallant Colonel Ledyard, modestly but bravely stepping forward, said: "I did, sir, but you do now," at the same time presenting his sword, as the vanquished does to the victor. The officer received it, and ruffian like, instantly plunged the weapon into his body, thus killing him instantly, an unarmed, unresisting prisoner. It was a cold blooded, brutal murder. Had the sword, when proffered, not been accepted, had the reply been, "Expect no quarter,

keep your sword and defend yourself," if death had followed, though it might have seemed barbarous, still there would have been some manliness in the transaction. Under the actual circumstances, it was a most foul, aggravated, treacherous murder. Let the memory of him who committed it perish forever. Let his name be forever unspoken by all brave and true men.

It remains that we consider briefly some few of the valuable lessons that the events which we this day commemorate so plainly teach.

It may be said in the first place that no spirit of aggressive war, no war for conquest, goes forth from this place. Such a spirit is ever to be earnestly rebuked and deprecated. We have seen, not now for the first time certainly, that the war in which our fathers were engaged was a just war, recognized as just by friends of arbitrary power on the continent of Europe, and even by the wisest statesmen of Great Britain who waged it against us. Marathon and Thermopylae are perhaps the places most renowned in the world as having been the scenes of the most heroic valor, the loftiest patriotism, the most perfect self-sacrifice ever exhibited by men in defense of their country. I need but allude to the immense influence which the deeds there done have had not only over Greece, but over all countries and nations through the succeeding centuries and, I may add, will continue to have till all the centuries are ended. It is an influence that gathers strength in the march of time.

To institute any comparison between the contests on these heights which we now commemorate, and those events so famous in Grecian history, would be thought too extravagant to be entertained for a moment. The immediate result of the struggle was certainly of but comparatively little importance; but as indicating the temper and spirit of the people, it had much to do with the question of American Independence. Do not these events from Grecian history come to us much magnified by time and distance? Bring them, widely separated as they are in fact, into close connection in imagination, with this deed of our Revolutionary fathers, and then carefully analyze each situation. When the result shall have been reached, and you are prepared to specify the causes which give eternal fame to the Grecian localities and Grecian heroes connected with them, then point if you can one substantial reason why these heights, and our heroes, are not entitled to fame equally lasting. The plain of Marathon, the strait of Thermopylae, were wet with the blood of those who perished for Greece; these heights, with the blood of those who perished for America. If

Miltiades and those ten thousand who fought at Marathon, if Leonidas and the three hundred who fought and perished at Thermopylae, have thus made their names immortal, shall not Ledyard and his devoted band who perished here, in a cause no less sacred, have their names on the roll of immortality?

I say confidently as a son of Connecticut, I say proudly, there is no spot in any country on this green earth more consecrated by patriotic blood than this. No braver heroes rest in the soil of the proudest clime than those who lie buried here.

Young men of Groton and of this vicinity, come up to these heights annually and at the base of this memorial column, reverently, as at a sacred shrine, pay your vows and honors. Here get inspiration to lead lives worthy of these your illustrious progenitors, the men who jeopardized their lives unto the death in the high places of the field. Live nobly and you will die nobly.

The vast standing armies of Europe admonish us that the reign of peace on earth has not yet begun. The wise policy of our government is carefully to avoid all foreign complications. We leave European powers to settle European questions in their own way. An invasion of our country and an attack on this locality by a foreign foe is highly improbable. It may take place. In such an event, Fort Trumbull on the opposite shore, though well planned and admirably constructed by one of our most accomplished engineer officers, Gen. Cullom, whose name still adorns the rolls of our army, would probably be reduced by the almost irresistible force of modern artillery. These heights would still be the rallying point for the faithful and the brave. The voice of the father's blood, would here cry from the ground:

"Strike, till the last armed foe expires!
Strike, for your altars and your fires!
Strike, for the green graves of your sires!
God, and your native land!"

This call, far more thrilling than the loudest notes of the bugle when sounding the charge, would be heard and heeded. The attacking force might be in overwhelming numbers, and resistance prove unavailing. But the band rallying on this spot would neither retreat nor surrender. The words imputed to the Old Guard of Napoleon would be on their lips: "We can die, but never surrender."

"Every turf beneath their feet
Would be a soldier's sepulchre."

And this plain granite pillar would thus become a glorious memorial as well to the sons as to the sires.

IN PACE.

IN MEMORIAM

OF THE

MEN WHO FELL IN THE MASSACRE
IN FORT GRISWOLD.

GROTON HEIGHTS, CONNECTICUT,

SEPT. 6th, 1781.

IN PACE.

Hearken, O hearts! and wonder,
Concerning the days now dead,
Days that were loud with thunder,
And with livid lightnings red—
When the war-drums smote with their rolling
Through the dark, and swords were drawn,
And the clangor of bells, and their tolling,
Rose high in the startled dawn.

Then out from the mist and the morning,
The ships with their dissonance came,
And the challenge of death, and the scorning,
Flashed forth in a blood-red flame;
And the hills, with the sunlight mellow,
And the woods, and the sloping shore,
Heard the great, black guns, as their bellow
Grew deep in a savage roar.

There were kisses, and hands were clasping
That never would meet again;
And the sinews grew stiff in the grasping
Of swords that were free from stain;
And out from the homes, and the tender,
Sweet light of a love sublime,
They marched to the gory splendor,
That has linked their names with Time;
They marched to the blood and the battle,
To the rush and biting of steel,
Their hearts elate with the rattle
Of drums, and the charge's reel;
Marched out in the sunlight, glowing
On plume, and musket, and sword,
To bend and fall in the mowing,
Whose harvest was given the Lord.

Oh, men who were brave and fearless !
 Oh, men who were tried and true !
 Who toiled, when the days were cheerless,
 And the night had nor stars, nor dew ;
 Who met, when the morn was breaking,
 The rush and carnage of war,
 And heard the trumpets, awaking
 To sleep and awake no more,--
 The grass and the blossoms above you
 Are fresh with the light and the rain,
 And we bow to your deeds, and love you,
 Who answered the call, and were slain.

In the light that has dawned, and the glory,
 You live by the death that stung,
 When the hillsides were rent and gory,
 And the bullets whistled and sung ;
 When the foeman's steel, and its gleaming,
 Was bright in the tasseled corn,
 And his banners were widely streaming
 Through the cool, wan light of morn ;
 When up from the shadows and water
 He strode in his pomp and might,
 And the air grew keen with the slaughter,
 And you closed in deadly fight ;
 Closed, swift as the flash that passes,
 And leaves in the sombre gloom
 The withered blossoms and grasses,
 And the dead who wait the tomb ;
 And the storm swept by, like the leaping
 Of waves when the winds are high,
 And left you in peace, and sleeping
 Beneath the stars and the sky.

The walls are silent and crumble
 With storms, and the weight of years,
 That were loud with strife, and the rumble
 Of guns, and the rush of cheers,
 When your hearts were swift in their beating,
 And your eyes were stern and hard,
 As the foe sprang on to the meeting,
 Over sward and flinty shard,

Sprang on through the flame swept spaces,
 To the mad and stubborn thrust,
 And lay cold, and with blood-stained faces,
 Struck down to the bitter dust;
 And their comrades came, like the rushing
 Of fierce winds that onward sweep,
 When great oaks to the ground are crushing,
 And the ships sink down the deep,—
 Surged over the ramparts, planted
 With death and the seeds of death,
 While the cannon about them panted
 And belched their murderous breath;
 And there, when the sun was sinking,
 You lay with your sightless eyes,
 And the earth and the rocks were drinking
 The blood of your sacrifice.

On the rocks where the high wave dashes,
 The moon will shine, and the sun;
 By the sanguine carnage and ashes,
 The gladness of peace is won;
 The smoke cloud of battle, uplifting,
 Dissolves in the vast of space,
 And the silent white mists go drifting,
 Where death ran a fearful race;
 And over the graves sweeps the regnant,
 Swift glory of resonant days,
 Rich with singing of birds, and pregnant
 With the joy of jubilant ways.

There are deeds that we cannot banish,
 There are thoughts beyond control;
 Men build for a day, and they vanish,
 But leave us their strength and soul;
 And out from the heat, and the flashing
 Of light that illumines the storm,
 From the thunder's roll and its crashing,
 The earth grows royal and warm.

Life comes with the flush, and the golden
 Enchantment of sunlit years;
 Swept back are the sorrow, and olden
 Derision of pain and tears,

When the rain that was swift in falling,
 Was dark with the stain of blood,
 And men heard the wail, and the calling
 Of winds when the tide ran flood;
 Heard the sound of musket and sabre,
 As they drank at the well of life,
 And ended their passion and labor,
 When the earth was wild with strife;
 Saw the sulphurous war-cloud bursting
 Where the waves ran up the shore,
 And the guns, with their black mouths thirsting
 For the kiss of flame once more;
 And the darkness grew, and the hollow,
 Hoarse growl of the fight was still,
 And the cold, grim night seemed to follow
 The foe speeding down the hill;
 And silent and sweet was their slumber,
 Whose turmoil and toil was done,
 And the graves grew many in number
 Beneath the light and the sun.

From the throes that led to creation,
 From silence, and gloomful toil,
 Came the soul and strength of a Nation,
 Wrought out by battle and spoil.
 Ah, the years are swift in their passing,
 And they change, like tides that roll
 Where the rocks, in dark grandeur massing
 Meet the surges from the Pole;
 Yes, they pass, but they leave behind them
 The good Love wins and the song;
 If you seek their steps, you will find them
 Where purpose and thought grow strong;
 And Time is a force that is blending,
 With life, in the work of God,
 And the way they tread is unending,
 Like those by the great spheres trod.
 Men die, but their deeds are eternal,
 To our hearts and love they cling;
 They shine like the stars, and the vernal
 Sweet blossoms that May days bring.

From the sea, with its great, white beaches—
 From the plains, with wheat a gleam—
 From the mountain, whose pine-clad reaches
 Gloom down on the foaming stream;—
 From the river, so swiftly flowing
 By forest and busy town,—
 From the cool, wide vales, that are showing.
 The gold of their harvest crown;—
 From the rocks where the ocean surges
 Dash high on New England's shore,—
 And from slopes, where the wind-made dirges
 Far up with the eagles soar,
 Sound the words that are like the ringing
 Of bells, when a people come,
 Through the glorious sunlight, bringing
 Their heroes in triumph home.
 For yours are the deeds that we cherish,
 Who died that we might be free,
 And your memory cannot perish
 While the land is kissed by the sea.

EVIDENCES OF
GLACIAL ACTION

IN

SOUTHEASTERN CONNECTICUT,

BY

HON. DAVID A. WELLS.

GLACIAL ACTION.

Remarkable evidences of glacial action in southeastern Connecticut seem thus far to have almost entirely escaped the attention of geologists. In fact, the most superficial survey of the section of country bordering on Long Island and Fisher's Island Sounds, and extending from Connecticut River on the west to Watch Hill, and perhaps to a point farther east, in Rhode Island,

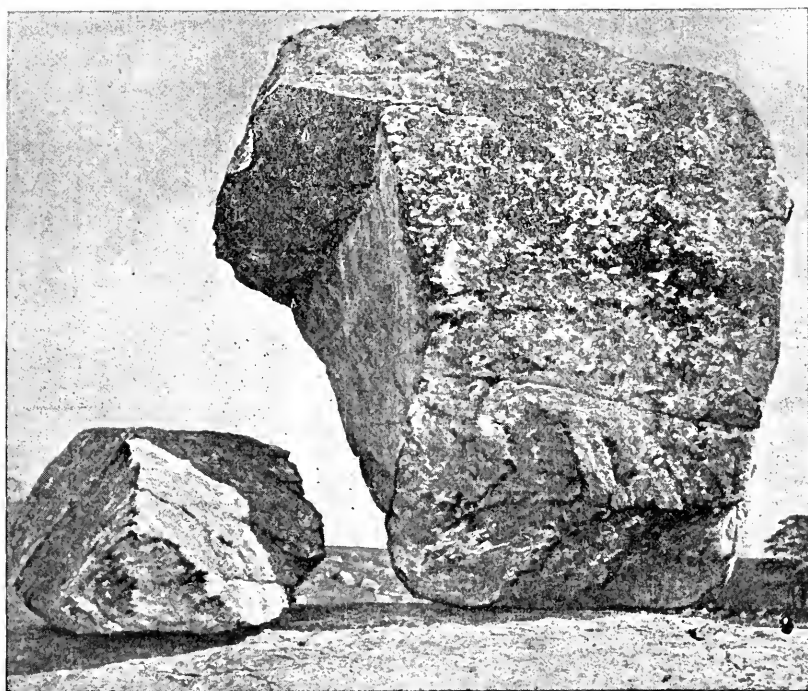


FIG. 1.

can hardly fail to produce a conviction that it was in this region that one, at least, of the Great New England glaciers debouched into the waters of the Atlantic; unloading or dropping, as its progress was arrested by the ocean, or as it subsequently gradually wasted and receded by change of climate, a vast multitude of boulders, of which a very large proportion are of uncommon mag-

nitude. There would also seem some reasons for believing that the central or medium line of this glacier is now indicated by the course of the so-called Thames River—which is more properly an arm of the sea rather than a river—and represents a deep but comparatively narrow cut in the underlying hard granitic rocks; and which, certainly near its mouth, to a depth of fifty feet or more beneath the present river bottom, as was shown by the recent borings in connection with the construction of the Shore Line Railroad bridge at New London, is now filled up with mud or coarser detritus. East of the mouth of the Thames River the shores of the mainland, and the surface of the numerous little adjoining islands, are strewn with boulders—many of large size, and often resting

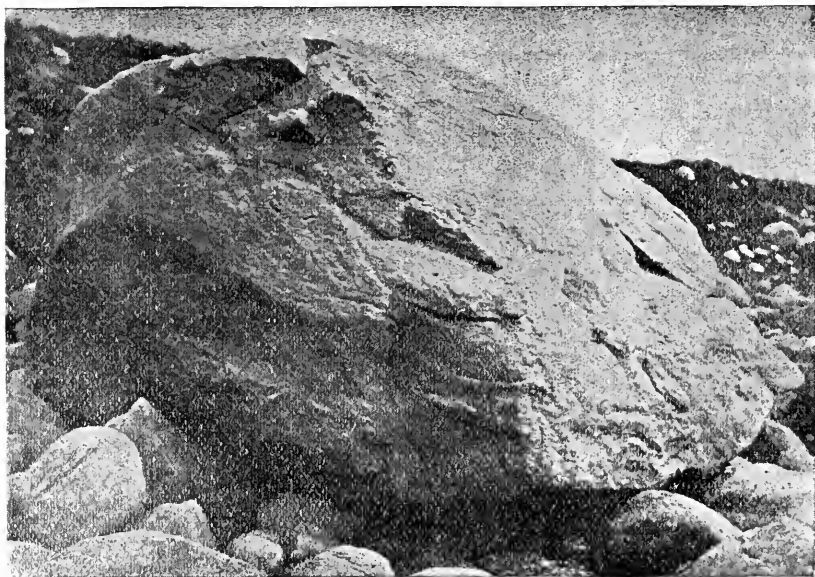


FIG. 2.

on a highly smoothed basis of bed-rock without the intervention of any surface soil whatever; as is illustrated by Fig. 1, which represents (from a photograph) a boulder (and the changes in the way of destruction which such masses of rock are undergoing), between Groton and Noank, on the line of the New London and Providence Railroad, and which is a very conspicuous object as seen from the cars, on the left hand side of the track going east.*

*All the illustrations accompanying this paper are reproduced from photographic pictures.

The number and size of the bowlders that are strowed over the bottom of Fisher's Island Sound are also a matter of interest and wonderment to even those least acquainted with the subject, who sail over and fish in its shallow waters; while Fisher's Island itself is little other than a mass of bowlders covered in great part by sand, and probably marks the terminal line where a heavy ocean surf arrested the further progress of the glacier by breaking in upon its structure, floating off its ice fragments in the form of bergs or floes, and, by releasing at the same time its heavier rock and gravel constituents, built up a breakwater which, as an island, now forms what is known as "Fisher's Island Sound." Fig. 2 represents a not unfrequent example of the character of the ma-

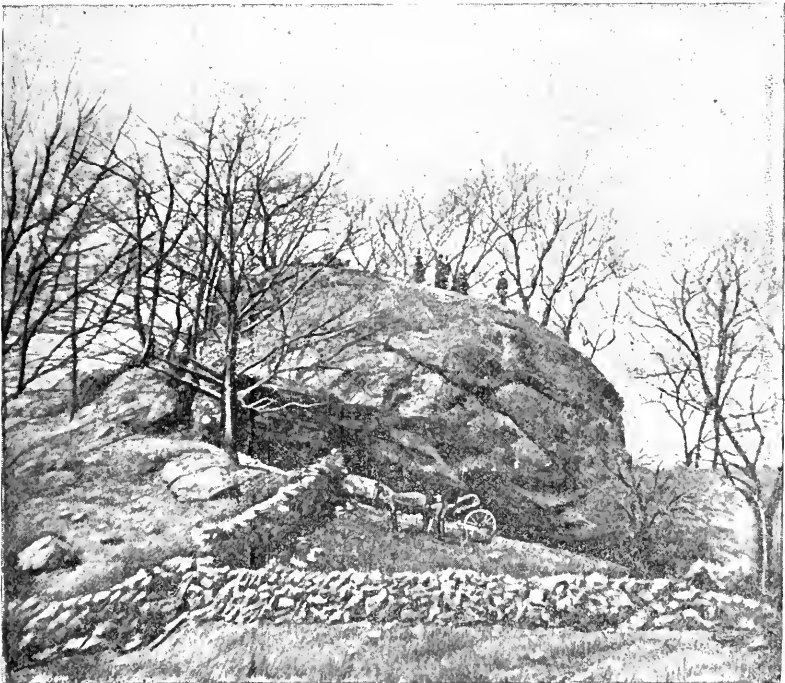


FIG. 3.

terials which enter into the construction of this natural breakwater, as seen from the western side of this island.

But it is in the region to the east and west of the line of the Thames River, and which it has been suggested may have been the axis of the ancient glacier, and not very far removed from this line, that bowlders of extraordinary size occur most numerously;

and among them is a rock, which, until very recently has been regarded as one of the largest, if not the very largest, boulder that has thus far been recognized in this or any other country. This rock—of coarse crystalline granite—is situated in the town of Montville, New London County, about six miles south of Norwich, and about a mile west of the Montville station on the New London and Northern Railroad; and, under the Indian name of “Sheegan,” has almost from the first settlement of the country been recognized as a great natural curiosity. Its position is on the edge of a gentle mound or knoll, on the northeast slope of a little valley; and its dimensions, according to recent measurements by Prof. Crosby, of the Boston Society of Natural History, are as follows: northwest side, forty-six feet; northeast, fifty-eight; southeast, forty-five; southwest, seventy. Maximum height, reckoning from the lower or down-hill side, to the highest point on the upper side, approximately, sixty feet; approximate cubic contents, seventy thousand cubic feet; approximate weight, about six thousand tons. Other

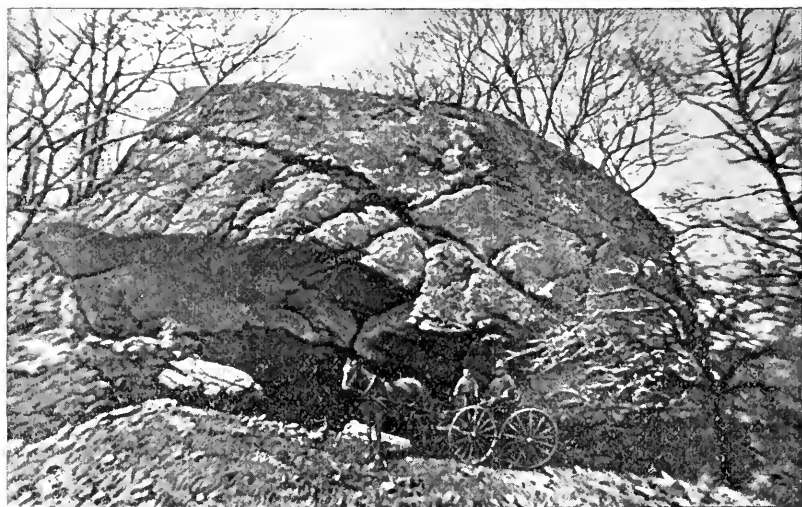


FIG. 4.

and former reported measurements of this rock indicate much larger dimensions than those reported by Prof. Crosby; and, although the determinations of an expert observer like the latter are entitled to the greatest confidence, it is nevertheless true that the form of the rock is so irregular as to render an exact estimate of its size, cubical contents, and weight a matter of no little difficulty.

Figs. 3 and 4 give an idea of the position, size and appearance of the "Sheegan" Rock, as seen from the valley beneath it, looking west. The introduction into the picture of the horse and wagon beneath the rock affords in some degree a standard for estimating its height. The cavity or recess beneath the rock, which is said to have been occupied, at the time of the first settlement of the country, by a Mohegan Indian (from whom the rock undoubtedly derived its name) as a dwelling place, is sufficiently capacious to admit of being used as a place of shelter for the sleds and other

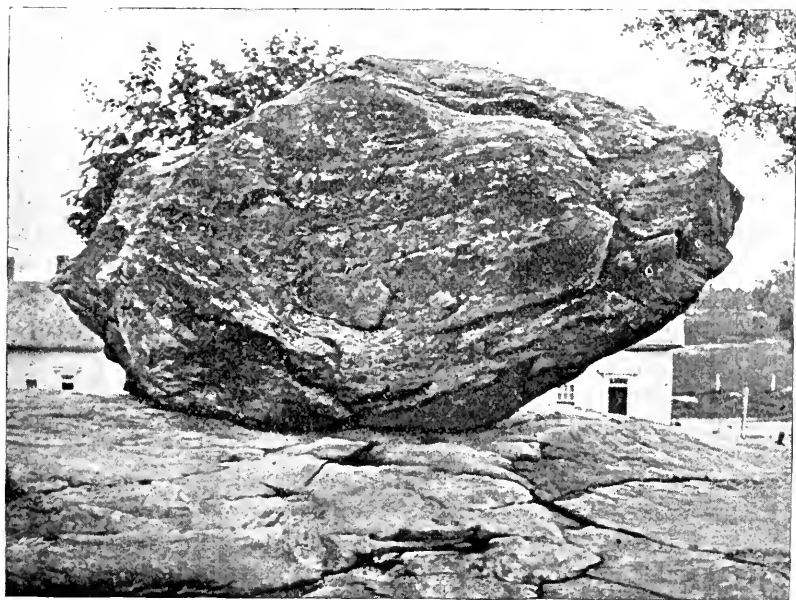


FIG. 5.

farm implements of the farmer proprietor. A rude ladder on the southern side of the rock affords facilities for reaching its top and obtaining a somewhat extensive view of the surrounding country.

It will probably have been noticed in the above description that the expression "has been regarded" as a boulder, has been employed. The reason of this is, that a recent examination of this rock (in March, 1890) has led Prof. Crosby to the somewhat startling conclusion that it is not a boulder, but "simply an angular and prominent remnant of a large granite vein, still undisturbed in its original position upon beds of gneiss; and that its chief geological interest is found in the fact that, notwithstanding its

exposed position, it has survived the disintegrating influence of the elements and successfully resisted the pressure of the great ice-sheet." Prof. Crosby also states that, "through the undercutting action of the frost, forming quite an extensive rock shelter" (i. e., the cavity or recess on the lower or valley side), "is afforded an opportunity to observe the actual contact of the massive granite and the finely laminated micaceous gneiss" upon which the granite rests.

For one of very limited experience to dispute the conclusions of such a trained observer as Prof. Crosby would be presumptuous; and yet it would not seem unreasonable to ask that they should not be considered as entirely determinative without a further careful examination of the problem on the part of experts. The question as to whether the contact of the granite of the assumed boulder and the underlying gneiss is one of situation or of composition is not an easy one for decision, without a very clear opportunity for examination. The fact that such a huge mass of granite should have resisted the pressure of a great ice-sheet, and remained so prominently in place as part of a vein, when such pressure and an accompanying movement and grinding were sufficient to not only round off and obliterate everything like angularity from the granite surface, but also remove or reduce down to a much lower level and over a large proximate area the whole vast mass of rock on which the granite protuberance, if it be a portion of a vein, must have been as it were originally imbedded, is, as Prof. Crosby admits, a result not a little singular. There is certainly nothing analogous to such a phenomenon in the vicinity, and it may well be questioned whether there is anything similar anywhere.

Furthermore, as throwing some light on this subject, there are, as before stated, in comparative proximity to the "Sheegan" Rock, a large number of undoubted boulders of the same granite, which, though not comparable as regards size, may yet be regarded as extraordinary, and as clearly involving the exercise of an enormous disrupting and transporting power within a rather limited area. One of these boulders in the same township of Montville, which is also an object of public curiosity, and known as the "Goal" Rock, is, according to measurements made for the writer, twenty-one feet high, twenty-five long, and twenty-five thick. Another, in the vicinity of Gardner's Lake, from which nearly one-fourth of the original mass has been detached in fragments, is reported as eighteen feet six inches high, thirty-five feet

long, and twenty feet thick. A third, on the east side of the Thames River, in the town of Preston, is fourteen feet high, twenty feet long, and seventeen feet thick; and at least three or four others in the same region, of similar dimensions, might be enumerated. Above a mile east of "Allen's Point," and on one of the highest of the elevations bordering the river, an area of several acres is so covered with huge boulders that in places it is difficult to find a path through them; while the southern slope of the same elevation, not far removed, is so strewn with such a multitude of rounded, small boulders that they have the appearance of having been planted artificially.

Fig. 5 represents an extremely picturesque though not a very large boulder, on the road between Norwich and Taftville, on the lands of the Ponemah Manufacturing Company, and almost in the center of the village that has, within a comparatively few years, grown up about it; and which, most fortunately, has thus far been carefully protected by the company against the Vandalic spirit which is so often prompted to mutilate or destroy everything in the nature of a public curiosity.

THE
HON. HENRY P. HAVEN.

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY.

HON. HENRY P. HAVEN.

The results of a man's life, are the stones of that invisible monument which rises above his grave, unseen, but sentient with inspiration or depression, as his work was for the good or ill of his fellows. During life, his actions are frequently misjudged in the antagonisms that arise from commercial, social or political ambitions; but when his grave has gathered bloom and verdure, and the good that was done, often in silence and darkness, assumes that concrete form which shows the underlying currents of the soul, then the man becomes known to the world at his true value. To be so known, is seldom accorded one in time for those with whom he walked the daily paths of earth, to see that he, whom they thought they understood so well, and had judged so worldly, was ruled by aims entirely different from those they attributed to him. To prove this, was not needed in the case of Henry Philemon Haven, for his life had grown to be a part of the social and religious history of his home, but it was the good fortune of his memory to show to many who had been associated with him in religious work, business and politics, that his life's endeavors were ruled by aims that made the welfare of his fellows, even after he had passed away from earth, an object of solicitude and wise prevision, and this was not the result of chance, but of careful thought, and knowledge won from wide experience.

Briefly summed up, the story of his life is as follows: Henry Philemon Haven was born in Norwich, Connecticut, February 11, 1815. He was descended from that sterling stock which has made New England a force in the nation, and the world. Losing his father at the age of four years, he was forced by the circumstances of his surroundings, to assume very early cares and duties, that usually come with more mature periods. He enjoyed the then scant benefits of the public schools, and passed two terms at a select or private institution of learning. He was an early attendant at the Sunday school nearest his home, and became an enthusiastic worker in this branch of religious education.

When he was fifteen, his mother took up her abode in New London, and Mr. Haven was indentured to Major Thomas W. Williams, a merchant and shipowner, and one of the leaders in the whaling business of the city. Here he soon won his way to the

positions of book-keeper and confidential clerk, and when but twenty-three, was admitted to partnership in the firm.

Mr. Haven's business life was stirring and varied, covering a long period of years, and embracing many new commercial enterprises. At first, the whale and seal fisheries absorbed his attention. During this time he saw the necessity for frequent change of ground and method, and met each with ready tact, one of the results of this course being the best whaling voyage known, a fifteen month's cruise of a steam whaler, the expense of which was about \$36,000, producing a cargo valued at a little over \$150,000. His enterprise in seeking new fields was noted, and an article written during the days of activity in the whale-fishery, says: "Vessels fitted out by the firm of Williams and Haven, have visited the uttermost parts of the earth, and brought home cargoes from the coasts of Brazil and Patagonia, from the icy realms of the Arctic and Antarctic, from the islands of Japan, and from the bleak shores of Kamtschatka and Labrador, from the wastes of the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian oceans, and from the haunts of wind and tempest; wherever tides flow, their ships have penetrated, and returned heavily laden."

When the whale and other oil fisheries grew less profitable, the firm turned its attention to guano, shipping principally from the equatorial islands of the Pacific, where the article was accidentally discovered when digging a grave for a sailor. This was on Baker's Island, but other deposits were found and made use of. At first this guano was consigned to the Southern States, but after the war broke out, destroying this market, it was shipped to Europe, Germany taking all that could be forwarded.

Mr. Haven was a pioneer in the Alaska Fur Seal Fishery, and was a partner in the company that leased the islands of St. Paul and St. George, in the Behring sea, from the government. While engaged in these commercial industries, Mr. Haven was also largely interested in the financial affairs of his city, being in the management of the Bank of Commerce, the New London City National Bank, and the Mariners Savings Bank, and in other institutions of this nature.

In politics he was active, his affiliations being with the Republican party. He represented his town in the Legislature of the State; was Mayor of the city for the term running from 1853 to 1856; was in the city government in various capacities, notably in the Department of Education, of which he was the leading member for more than twenty years. In 1873, he was the Republican

candidate for Governor, and though defeated by local dissensions in different parts of the State, and personal antagonisms in which he had no part, made a strong fight, and polled what, considering the disadvantages under which he labored, may be fairly considered a good vote.

But while devoting so much time to the lay duties of life, Mr. Haven did not forget that he owed a duty to his Creator, and his faithful performance in this direction was noted. He was a thorough believer in the efficacy of Sunday school teaching, establishing a school in an out of the way country district, to which he gave months of loving and patient labor. He was also superintendent of the Sunday school of his church, which by care and sympathy he made a model, and one of the largest in the city. His work in this direction was very thorough, and he was ever ready to speak for the faith, often officiating in the pulpit, though not as a regular ordained pastor. In 1872 he was a delegate from Connecticut to the Fifth National Sunday School Convention, held in Indianapolis; and in 1875 he was one of the representatives sent from this country to be present at the Congregational Union of England and Wales, held in London. In all local and State work of this nature, he was ever helpful, and no gathering having the good of man, his advancement and future welfare at heart, missed the cheer and encouragement of his presence.

Even when death found him, April 30, 1876, it did not end his usefulness.

This he had provided for, by the following clause in his will: "One third of my estate, principal and income, I give to my said trustees, to be by them expended as they may deem best for charitable and benevolent purposes, according to their discretion, and in such manner as they believe would be in accordance with my wishes."

There are few who know the volume, or the wide field reached by these simple words, and this is as the testator would desire. One of the visible results, is the Public Library of New London, recently erected in that city, on the upper floor of which building the New London County Historical Society will hereafter have its permanent home.

No man can build a finer monument than this. It has its foundation in beneficence and wisdom, and rises into the pure atmosphere of unselfish thought for the good of all. And this is the monument that Henry Philemon Haven builded, and builded well.

His example has been most worthily followed by his children. Both are noted for good works, and his daughter, Anna Haven Perkins, who has just passed through the valley of shadows, left a large share of her fortune to endow the library, which owed its existence to her father's generosity. Actions like these are the red letters of humanity. They show that the soul beats steadily for the upreaching after knowledge, the advancement of manhood and womanhood. These are examples that speak to the world, monuments that are felt as well as seen.

REVOLUTIONARY
NAVAL OFFICERS
FROM CONNECTICUT.

REVOLUTIONARY NAVAL OFFICERS

FROM CONNECTICUT.

With the possible exception of Massachusetts, no colony was more active in the naval affairs of the revolution, both Colonial and Continental, than Connecticut. To the regular navy it contributed many ships, and some distinguished names, and its privateers were numerous, aggressive and exceedingly successful.

Among the first naval captains appointed to the regular Continental navy by the resolutions of December, 1775, was Dudley Saltonstall, of New London. In the first arrangement of naval officers, he is named the leading captain, being the second in command to Commodore Ezek. Hopkins, and in command of the *Alfred*. As such, he sailed in the expedition to New Providence, which captured considerable stores, but accomplished no striking victory, a result hoped for, but not to be accomplished with such poorly equipped vessels as constituted the fleet. The result of the expedition was disappointment, and unmerited disgrace for Commodore Hopkins. This brought about a new arrangement of the Continental navy, in which Captain Saltonstall became fourth on the list, and was changed from the *Alfred* to the *Trumbull*. This vessel did not get to sea until 1777, and in April of that year, captured, after a sharp action, two armed transports, filled with valuable stores. The loss of the *Trumbull* was seven killed and eight wounded, so that the action must have been heavy, as she was a twenty-eight gun frigate. Captain Saltonstall was transferred to a larger frigate, the *Warren*, in 1779, and put in command of a small fleet formed to break up a British post on the Penobscot river, in Maine. The troops carried by the fleet were landed, and the *Warren* and another ship attacked the British works to cover this movement, the *Warren* losing thirty men in killed and wounded. The works were too strong for assault, and while waiting for reinforcements a British fleet of superior force entered the bay and chased the Continental fleet up the river, where it was destroyed. Following its usual course in naval matters, Congress dismissed Captain Saltonstall, though his conduct lacked nothing in spirit or endeavor. He might have been liable to censure, but the failure of the expedition was more the result of the publicity given to it, than any other cause, and this was not his fault.

Captain Saltonstall did not remain idle. He entered the privateer service, and in the *Minerva* captured the ship *Hannah*, said to have been the most valuable prize of the war. His enterprise, seamanship and courage were undoubted, and he was worthy of a better reward than that given by the Continental Congress.

Captain Saltonstall belonged to a family noted in revolutionary military and naval annals. He was the son of Brig-Gen. Gordon Saltonstall, who led several regiments of Connecticut militia to the aid of Washington, in one of the dangerous periods of the war. His brother, Captain Gilbert, commanded the marines of the *Trumbull*, and showed great bravery in action.

Another Captain, Nathaniel Saltonstall, was the first commander of Fort Trumbull, and in 1778 was given command of the twenty-gun ship *Putnam*, built in New London. This vessel was burned in the expedition of Captain Dudley Saltonstall, but not before she had shown, by her handling, and the capture of prizes, that her commander was an efficient and valuable officer.

In connection with the Saltonstalls it may be as well to give the history of the *Trumbull*. After Captain Dudley Saltonstall's promotion she was commanded by Captain James Nicholson, under whom she fought a desperate battle with the letter-of-marque *Watt* in which the latter lost ninety-two men killed and wounded, while the *Trumbull* lost thirty-nine. The *Watt* carried thirty-six guns and the *Trumbull* thirty, the weight being in favor of the British ship. Captain Nicholson would have captured his foe had not the loss of his spars at the critical moment of the battle prevented. That he took no advantage of this proves the defeat of the British captain, even though he succeeded in escaping. In 1781, still under the command of Captain Nicholson, the *Trumbull* sailed from Delaware Bay, and while convoying a fleet of merchantmen, was chased by the *Iris*, 32, and *General Monk*, 18. Struck by a squall she lost her fore-top-mast and main-top-gallant mast, and while thus disabled was engaged by the *Iris*. All but fifty of his men deserted the battery and went below, but with these Captain Nicholson fought for more than an hour, when the *General Monk* closing, further resistance was useless, and the *Trumbull* passed out of the American navy. The loss of the *Trumbull*, five killed and eleven wounded out of the small number who fought, was heavy, and showed that the loyal men did their duty well.

Captain Seth Harding, of Norwich, commanded first the Connecticut colony brig, *Defence*, in which he helped capture, assisted by three small privateers, and an armed schooner of Massachusetts,

three heavily armed transports with five hundred soldiers from one of the best British regiments sent to America. In 1777 he commanded the *Oliver Cromwell*, in which he made a most successful cruise. His next command, and his first in the Continental navy, was the *Confederacy*, a large frigate built at Norwich. In this he was ordered to convoy Mr. John Jay, the newly appointed Minister to France, to that country, 1778. While on this duty, and off the Bermudas, she lost all her spars. She succeeded in reaching Martinique, where Mr. Jay obtained passage in a French frigate, and the *Confederacy* was refitted. From that time she was employed as convoy, and while on this duty in 1781, was captured by a two-decker, with a frigate in company.

In the second arrangement of the Continental navy, in 1776, Elisha Hinman, born in Southbury, but sailing from New London, appears as No. 20 in the list of captains. This was not his first service, however, for he was commander of the *Cabot*, 14, in the expedition to New Providence. His vessel was the first to engage the *Glasgow*, the English frigate that escaped from Commodore Hopkins' fleet, and he did this bravely, being severely wounded in the encounter. He next commanded the *Marquis de Lafayette*, 20, and *Deane*, 30, and later succeeded Paul Jones in the command of the *Alfred*, making a cruise in her to France. When returning, in company with the *Raleigh*, the *Alfred* was captured by the *Ariadne* and *Ceres*, British frigates. Captain Hinman was carried to England, but succeeded in escaping to France. He afterward performed some privateer service, and when the new navy of 1794 was formed, was offered the command of the *Constitution*, but declined on account of age. He held some civil appointments under the government, and died in 1807.

Captain Robert Niles, a native of Groton, commanded the armed schooner *Spy*, owned by the State of Connecticut. He received his commission from Governor Jonathan Trumbull, in 1775. The *Spy* was of about fifty tons burthen, had an armament of six four-pounders, and a crew of twenty to thirty men. This vessel captured the armed British vessel *Dolphin*, a larger and more heavily armed vessel than his own. In June, 1778, the *Spy* was one of six different vessels selected by the government to carry to France an official copy of the treaty with that nation, and Captain Niles' vessel was the only one which ran the gauntlet safely, and arrived in France with the treaty. Niles died at Norwich, in 1818.

Captain Timothy Parker, of Norwich, was one of the most valiant naval officers of the revolution. He succeeded Captain

Harding in the command of the *Oliver Cromwell*, in December, 1777. It was on the 15th of April, 1778, that the *Cromwell* met with the British ship, *Admiral Keppel*, in the vicinity of the Bahamas—a region with which American sailors were well acquainted. An action, short, sharp and decisive ensued. From a journal, kept by a sailor on board the *Cromwell*, let me quote a somewhat quaint account of it: “14th, at 4 o’clock of afternoon, saw a sail bearing E. S. E. We gave chase and came up with her at 8 o’clock. She was a large French ship. We sent the boat on board of her; she informed us of two English ships which she left sight of at the time we saw her.”

“15th, at daybreak, we saw two sail, bearing S. E. S., distance two leagues. We gave chase, under a moderate sail. At 9 o’clock came up with them. They at first shew French colors to decoy us. When we came in about half a mile, they ups with the English colors. We had Continental colors flying. We engaged the ship *Admiral Keppel*, as follows: When we came in about twenty rods of her, we gave her a bow gun. She soon returned us a stern chase, and then a broadside of grape and round shot. Captain orders not to fire till we can see the white of their eyes. We get close under their larboard quarter. They began another broadside, and then we began and held tuff and tuff for about two glasses, and then she struck to us. At the same time the *Defence* engaged the *Cyrus*, who, as the *Keppel* struck, wore round under our stern. We wore ship and gave her a stern chase, at which she immediately struck. The loss on our side was one killed and six wounded, one mortally, who soon died. Our ship was hulled nine times with six-pound shott, three of which went through our berth, one of which wounded the boatswain’s yeoman. The loss on their side was two killed and six wounded. Their larboard quarter was well filled with shott. One nine-pounder went through her main-mast. Employed in the afternoon taking out the men and manning the prize. The *Keppel* mounted twenty guns, eighteen six-pounders and two wooden do., with about forty-five men. The *Cyrus* mounted sixteen six-pounders, with thirty-five men; letters-of-marque, bound from Bristol to Jamaica, laden with dry goods, paints, etc.”

The person mortally wounded on board the *Cromwell* was James Day, of Norwich, I believe—a captain of marines. In May, 1779, the *Cromwell* went out from New London, and in four days captured four prizes and sixty prisoners. But in the following month, after a spirited contest, she was captured by the British

frigate *Defence*, off Sandy Hook. Captain Parker lived to follow the seas, mostly in the West India trade, many years thereafter.

The *Defence*, the companion vessel to the *Cromwell*, was at this time commanded by Captain Samuel Smedley, of Fairfield. He held his commission from Governor Trumbull. With his vessel he captured many prizes from the British, perhaps more than were taken by any other vessel. At this time she was ship-rigged, her rig having been altered in Boston. In March, 1779, she struck on Goshen reef, near New London, and went to pieces, losing some of her crew.

Captain Giles Hall, of Wallingford, commanded the brigantine, *Minerva*, built at Rocky Hill as a merchantman, but altered by the State to a vessel of war. The *Minerva* was probably the largest war vessel of the Connecticut navy. Her burthen was one hundred and eight tons, which made her a very large craft for that day. I have no record of her doings, and only know that she cruised far out on the Atlantic ocean, and toward the West Indies. When the United States chartered her, in 1781, Captain Hall was still in command. He was later relieved by Captain Dudley Saltonstall. At this time she had a crew of one hundred and twenty men, and mounted sixteen guns. I cannot tell what was the size of her guns, but none of our vessels, I think, had heavier guns than nine-pounders, while many British vessels carried twenty-four pounders.

Captain Hall had been first lieutenant, as early as 1757, of the solitary man-of-war, then owned by the Colony of Connecticut—the old brig *Defence*. I suppose him to have been that Giles Hall who was a brother of Lyman Hall, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, and who, though a resident of Georgia in 1776, was born and reared in Connecticut.

NOTE.—The above notices, with the exception of a few additions to those of Captains Dudley Saltonstall, Seth Harding and Elisha Hinman, were prepared by Judge Sherman W. Adams, of Hartford, and read by him before a meeting of the Connecticut Naval Veteran's Association. In his conclusion Judge Adams says: "There were other officers whose names might be added to this list," and it is to be hoped that he will at some future day, give a second equally interesting article.

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

NEW LONDON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE

Year Ending September 6th, 1891.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

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RECORDS
AND
PAPERS
OF THE
NEW LONDON COUNTY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

PART III. VOLUME I.

OFFICERS

OF THE

NEW LONDON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

FOR THE YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 6TH, 1892.

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HON. WILLIAM A. SLATER, OF NORWICH.

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ANNUAL MEETING.

The regular annual meeting of the New London County Historical Society was called to order at 11 a. m., Tuesday, September 8th, the Hon. C. A. Williams, President, in the chair. The meeting had been deferred one day, to allow the members of the Society to attend the celebration in Fort Griswold. As a storm had caused these to be changed, the meeting was further postponed to Tuesday, September 15th, 1891.

The annual meeting of the New London County Historical Society, postponed from September 8th, was called to order at 11 a. m., Tuesday, September 15th, 1891. In the absence of the President, the Hon. Benjamin Stark, First Vice President, occupied the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

The Treasurer, C. B. Ware, Esq., read his report. The receipts exceeded the expenditures, and the Printing Fund in the Savings Bank, and the fund in the Union Bank were left intact, making a balance of nearly \$150 to the credit of the Society.

The Secretary's report was then read by the Secretary, Thos. S. Collier.

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

It is with pleasure that your Secretary greets you in the new rooms of the Society. Business demanding his constant attention, has prevented the systematic arrangement of the Society's possessions, but this will be attended to in the near future, and a catalogue of the library, and other collections, will be made, so that the books and relics, the manuscripts and portraits, may be of service to all who desire to make use of them.

The contributions to the Society have been as numerous as of old, the most important being 84 volumes of books from the library of the late Frances Mauwaring Caulkins. The New York,

Rhode Island, Long Island, Buffalo, Oneida, Maryland, New Jersey, Western Reserve, Ohio, New England Historic-Genealogical, Wyoming, Connecticut, New Haven Colony, Ohio Historical and Philosophical, Dedham, Old Colony and Pennsylvania Historical Societies, the libraries of Harvard, Yale, Brown and Trinity Colleges, and of the State of New York, of Brooklyn and of San Francisco, the Hon. John T. Wait, Hon. C. A. Russell, Hon. R. C. Winthrop, Mrs. L. F. S. Foster, Hon. Charles J. Hoadley for the Connecticut State Library, the Smithsonian Institute, and Messrs. J. A. Arnold, W. W. Backus, James J. Goodwin, J. Buchanan Henry and C. B. Ware have contributed books and pamphlets, and some South American Indian relics, and a portrait of Captain Jonathan Harris, have been received from Samuel A. Wait, of South Lyme, and the County War Tax book of 1812 has been given by the late Warren Comstock, Esq. It is hoped, now that the Society has an established home, that the accessions to its library and collections will be more numerous, and more diversified. When the fact that the Society's exchange list can now be systematically established, as its publications will be regular and valuable, and that its permanent quarters will attract visitors, and demonstrate its usefulness as a depository and guardian of historical relics and documents, as well as of books, this seems to be an assured fact.

In connection with the arrangement of the library and collections, your Secretary will have to file the newspapers now in the possession of the Society. It is safe to say that no more complete gathering of the county journals now exists than the Society possesses. To make these useful, they should be regularly filed, and bound. Your Secretary will perform the first, and he respectfully asks contributions to a binding fund, that his work may be of use. It is, of course, patent to all, that in matters of local history, and in the gathering of events, incidents and transactions, both personal, commercial and industrial, there is no more thorough purveyor than the newspaper, and that because of this, a collection of the county newspapers, regularly filed and bound ready for use, will be invaluable, both to the historian, the business man and the student. In fact, frequent calls have been made for information only to be found in the newspapers, and these, because of the present mixed condition of the papers, have caused much labor.

It is with sincere sorrow that your Secretary calls attention

to the fact that death has been frequent in his visitation to the Society during the past year. We have lost the Hon. Henry Bill, first vice president, the Hon. J. P. C. Mather and the Hon. Nathan Belcher, members of the advisory committee, and J. George Harris, pay director United States navy, and Richard N. Belden, Esq., all old and useful members. Fitting resolutions should attest the loss of the Society, and its sympathy with the families of our late members.

The membership of the Society shows a steady increase, which your Secretary hopes will now be accelerated. The names of all members joining during the last four years, have been retained even though delinquent in dues, as it was thought that when the rooms were regularly opened, all would give them a call, and become more interested and therefore regular in their contributions and attendance.

Other matters that might properly come in the province of this report will be found in the statements of the Committees on Printing and Fittings, and are therefore omitted.

Very respectfully submitted,

THOMAS S. COLLIER, Secretary.

The reports of the Secretary and Treasurer were accepted and ordered on file.

The election of officers was then taken up, and a committee consisting of Messrs. Major W. H. H. Comstock, John McGinley and Thos. S. Collier was appointed by the chair to make nominations. These consisted of the following named gentlemen :

PRESIDENT—Hon. Charles Augustus Williams, of New London.

VICE-PRESIDENTS—Hon. Benjamin Stark, of New London; Hon. William A. Slater, of Norwich; Hon. Frederick Bill, of Groton.

SECRETARY—Thomas S. Collier, U. S. N., of New London.

TREASURER—Charles B. Ware, Esq., of New London.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE—Hon. Charles Augustus Williams, of New London; Hon. Benjamin Stark, of New London; Hon. George F. Tinker, of New London; Charles B. Ware, Esq., of New London; Hon. Ralph Wheeler, of New London; Judge George W. Goddard, of New London; James Allyn, Esq., of Montville; Rev. Charles J. Hill, of Stonington; Hon. Robert Coit, of New London; Hon. William A. Slater, of Norwich; Walter Learned, Esq., of New London; Hon. John T. Wait, of Norwich; Thomas S. Collier, U. S. N., of New London; Hon. Frederick Bill, of Groton; Frederick S. Newcomb, Esq., of New London; Hon. Richard A. Wheeler, of

Stonington; John McGinley, Esq., of New London; Horace Clift, Esq., of Groton; Major William H. H. Comstock, of New London; Dr. Lewis D. Mason, of Brooklyn; Hon. H. Wales Lines, of Meriden; Dr. Amos Lawrence Mason, of Boston; Jonathan Trumbull, Esq., of Norwich; Hon. Elisha Palmer, of Montville; Elisha V. Daboll, Esq., of New London.

The Committee on Printing reported the publication of the second part of the Society's "Records and Papers," and the satisfactory sale of the same. The report showed that about 200 copies of the first number, 350 of the second, and a few copies of the Shipman and Bacon Memorials, with 200 copies of the Mason Statue History, still remained on hand. The committee was continued, and ordered to print annual, and if possible, semi-annual numbers of the Society's Records and Papers.

Messrs. Thos. S. Collier, Elisha V. Daboll and John McGinley, were appointed a committee to draft suitable resolutions on the death of members, who had passed away since the last annual meeting.

Mrs. Catherine P. Eggleston and Messrs. Wolcott B. Manwaring, William Belcher, R. T. Palmer, Jr., James R. Linsley and Theodore Bodenwein and the Rev. Thomas P. Joynt, of New London; Gen. W. A. Aiken and Messrs. Adams P. Carroll, B. P. Learned and George S. Palmer, of Norwich, and W. M. Burchard, M. D., of Uncasville, were elected annual members.

The Committee on Outfitting asked a continuance, and this was granted.

The Secretary, Thos. S. Collier, then read an original paper on "Early Printing in New England."

On motion of Major W. H. H. Comstock, a vote of thanks for his interesting paper was given Mr. Collier, and he was asked to furnish the Committee on Printing with a copy, that it might be included in the Society's publications.

The Secretary reported that the new rooms of the Society would be open every Saturday during the months of September and October, and that after that date, he hoped to have them open two or more days each week. A catalogue of the Society's Library and collections would be made as soon as possible, and the rooms arranged so that the collections would be of use to members, and others who desired to visit them. The Secretary also reported that with the opening of the rooms a new interest in the

Society had been awakened, contributions to the Library had been promised, and the work of the Society had been commended, and help in various directions, such as the gathering of historical incidents, and the writing of papers of historical import, proffered. He hoped to have several papers read before the Society during the winter.

The meeting was the largest for many years, and the presence of several of the lady members and friends of the Society made this, the first meeting in the Society's new rooms, one of note and congratulation.

Attest—

THOS. S. COLLIER, Secretary.

THE FIRST ORGANIZED CHURCH
IN
NEW LONDON COUNTY.

AN HISTORICAL STUDY,

BY

HON. RICHARD A. WHEELER.

Read before the New London County Historical Society,
at its Annual Meeting, Nov. 26th, 1877.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

The object of this paper is to show so far as I have been able to learn, when, how and where the First Churches of New London, Norwich and Stonington were organized, or known to exist as such.

The first settlement of New London, then known as Nameaug or Pequot, was commenced by Mr. John Winthrop, acting first under an allowance, and afterwards by a commission from the General Court of Massachusetts prior to and during the year 1646.

The Massachusetts Colony claimed jurisdiction of the place as their part of the conquered Pequot territory.

The Rev. Mr. Thomas Peters desiring to join the settlement, was ordered by said Court to assist Mr. Winthrop for the better carrying on of the work of the plantation.

About the same time William Chesebrough, then living in Rehoboth, Plymouth Colony, acting under the advice and encouragement of Mr. Winthrop, visited Pequot with a view of making it his permanent place of abode, but finding it unsuitable to his expectation, decided to locate himself farther east at Wequetequoc (now Stonington.)

Mr. Peters did not long remain in the new settlement, for during the summer of 1646 he received a summons from his old flock at Cornwall, England, to return home and renew his pastoral relations with them. In the early autumn of that year he bid adieu to Pequot, and sailed for England in November following.

As soon as the General Court of Connecticut became aware of Mr. Winthrop's settlement at Pequot, they laid claim to the jurisdiction of the place by virtue of their Patent from the King. In view thereof Massachusetts reasserted her claim and the matter was referred to the Commissioners of the United Colonies in 1646, who decided in favor of Connecticut.

When William Chesebrough brought his family to Wequetequoc in the fall of 1649 the Connecticut General Court gave him

to understand in a summary way that they disapproved of his settlement there, claiming jurisdiction, which he acknowledged, and after stating to them that he had been influenced by Mr. Winthrop in settling down at Wequetequoc, the General Court in 1651, consented for Mr. Chesebrough to remain at Wequetequoc on condition that he would gather around him a considerable number of acceptable persons, that would "engage for the planting of the place," to all of which he assented.

In September of that year he made application to the General Court for the confirmation of the title to the lands he then claimed at Wequetequoc, and after consulting his old friend, Mr. Winthrop, and the Deputies of Pequot then in attendance at Court, he made an arrangement and agreement with them by which it was mutually understood and agreed that if Mr. Chesebrough would place himself on a footing with the inhabitants of Pequot, that town would confirm to him the title to said lands by virtue of a grant thereof.

The town of Pequot carried out this agreement with Mr. Chesebrough, and he exerted himself to his utmost to induce men of character and influence to settle around him, and thereby redeem his pledge to the General Court, and so well did he succeed that before the spring season of 1654 he was joined by some of the most respectable and influential men of his time, such as Thomas Stanton, the Interpreter General of New England, Captain George Denison (with the exception of Major John Mason), the most distinguished soldier of the Colony, Walter Palmer, an old neighbor of Mr. Chesebrough in Rehoboth, Capt. John Gallup, a famous Indian warrior, who fell at the great swamp fight in Rhode Island in 1675, and Thomas Miner, a man prominent in all the relations of life.

Others soon followed with their families and became permanent residents. There was no place of worship for them at that time nearer than at Pequot, and there being no roads and two rivers to cross made it well nigh impossible for them to attend there.

So in 1654 they applied to the General Court, asking to be incorporated as a town by the name of Mystic and Pawcatuck. No sooner made than their application was resisted by a majority of the Pequot planters, and a stormy contest followed that involved not only the town of Pequot and the General Court, but the church and minister of the Pequot plantation.

After the departure of Mr. Peters from Pequot in 1646, no particular efforts were made to obtain another minister until 1649 and 1650 when a committee was appointed by the town to procure a minister.

This committee extended an invitation to the Rev. Richard Blinman, of Gloucester, Mass., who after prayerful consideration accepted the call, and came to Pequot during the year 1650.

In October of the same year the town granted Mr. Blinman a lot of land, and voted him a salary of sixty pounds per annum, which was afterwards liberally enlarged.

In December following they granted him a house lot of six acres, and subsequently built him a dwelling house thereon.

Previous to this time no meeting-house had been erected at Pequot for public religious worship.

All meetings of that character had been held in the rude cabins of the planters.

In August of 1650 and after Mr. Blinman had consented to become their settled minister, the town purchased a barn of Mr. Robert Park and fitted it up for a meeting-house, and subsequently during the years of 1652-3-4-5 a new meeting-house was erected at Pequot.

Mr. Blinman was a native of England, and a minister of Chepstow, Monmouthshire. He came to New England with several Welsh gentlemen of good note, by the invitation of Mr. Edward Winslow, of Plymouth, and came to that place before 1640.

Mr. Blinman and several of his friends were propounded for freemanship by the General Court of Plymouth March 2d, 1641, and soon after, acting under the advice and influence of Mr. Winslow, settled near him at Green Harbor, (now Marshfield), Mass. Dissensions soon arose, the nature and extent of which is not certainly known, but sufficiently serious to cause Mr. Blinman and his old friends to leave the place, and cross the bay and fix their residence at Gloucester, formerly known as Cape Ann. There Mr. Blinman and his Welsh friends, joined by a few others, united in forming a church in 1642, and there he continued to labor in the work of the ministry until 1649.

Towards the latter part of his ministry in Gloucester, Mass., Mr. Blinman met with serious opposition from parties inside and outside of the Church, which served to endear him to his long time friends, so that when he received the call from Pequot and had decided to accept it, they made up their minds to go with him

and share his fortunes. They were most welcome in their new home. The town granted each of them a home lot, besides other accommodations in various ways.

For the first two or three years of Mr. Blinman's labors in Pequot everything promised a long and successful ministry.

Unfortunately he became involved in the controversy relative to the new township of Mystic and Pawcatuck. At first he favored the project; afterwards he opposed it, which alienated his friends at Mystic and Pawcatuck. Before the contest had reached its height a town meeting was warned and held at Pequot for the purpose of conciliation and an amicable settlement of their troubles. This meeting was held August 28, 1654, and resulted in the appointment of four from Pequot and three from Mystic and Pawcatuck "to debate, reason and conclude whether Mystic and Pawcatuck should be a town, and upon what terms, and to determine the case in no other way, but in a way of love and reason, and not by vote." Mr. Winthrop, Goodman Caulkins, Cary Latham and Goodman Elderkin represented Pequot. Mr. Robert Park, Goodman Chesebrough and Capt George Denison represented Mystic and Pawcatuck. There is no record of the labors of this committee, but from subsequent events, it appears that they failed to agree.

Mr. Blinman's course relative to the matter was severely censured by Capt. Denison and Thomas Miner, and high words passed between them. The General Court did not take decisive measures at first, and in 1656 ordered that the majority of the town of Pequot should decide whether the charge of the ministry at Pequot and Pawcatuck should be a joint charge, or each party pay for their own preaching.

This action of the Court did not suit the planters at Mystic and Pawcatuck. They were in a minority, and of course were subject to the will of the majority, who decided that the planters at Mystic and Pawcatuck should pay their rates to Mr. Blinman, and appealed to the Court to enforce the payment thereof.

The Court by an order passed in May, 1657, directed them to pay Mr. Blinman what they owed him, and appointed a committee consisting of Mr. Winthrop, Major Mason, Capt. Callick and Mr. Allyn, to issue matters between the inhabitants of Pequot, Mystic and Pawcatuck, if they could, or else make a return how they leave things.

This committee met at Pequot July 8th, 1657, for the purpose of considering the matters in dispute.

What they said or did does not appear of record, nor is it known what their findings were, but whatever they were, instead of reconciling the parties in interest, served to intensify the controversy.

Mr. Blinman's rates were not paid, and he gave up his occasional services at Mystic and Pawcatuck.

Pending this controversy the Massachusetts General Court claimed the proposed new township of Mystic and Pawcatuck as belonging to that Colony, on account of their participation in the Pequot war.

The matter of jurisdiction as between the Colonies of Connecticut and Massachusetts was referred to the Commissioners of the United Colonies for adjudication and award, who after due consideration decided in June, 1658, that Mystic and Pawcatuck belonged to Massachusetts, and was by the General Court of that Colony incorporated under the name of Southertown.

Before the consummation of that event Mr. Blinman's pastorate had ceased to be by his own act, for on the 20th day of January, 1658, he gave notice that "he would be gone," and went to New Haven the same week; and during January and February three meetings were held at Pequot to reconcile matters between the inhabitants of that town and those of Mystic and Pawcatuck, but all were of no avail as subsequent events plainly show.

So far no mention is made of a Church in the town meeting records of Pequot or those of the Connecticut General Court.

It will be remembered that the town of Pequot held a meeting on the 28th day of August, 1654, wherein conciliatory measures were adopted. In the evening of that day a meeting of the Church was held at the dwelling house of Goodman Caulkins in Pequot. The record of that meeting was made by Thomas Miner in his diary, and is as follows, viz.: "I was sent for at Pequot for to be reconciled to the Church, and at evening the major part met at Goodman Caulkins' house, namely: Mr. Blinman, Mr. Bruen, Goodman Morgan, Goodman Caulkins, Ralph Parker, Goodman Lester, Goodman Coit, Hugh Roberts, Capt. Denison and Goodman Chesebrough and Thomas Miner being there. All these took satisfaction in my acknowledging the height of my spirit; secondly, in that I saw my evil in my sudden and rash speaking to Mr. Blinman, and with all this was acknowledgment on the Church's part that I was wronged; so all was passed by on my side and the Church's, with promise on both parts—as that, all former offences

should be buried, and never more to be agitated; so desiring the prayers, each for the other, we parted from that meeting August 28th, 1654."

I have briefly sketched the early history of New London, for the purpose of showing the nature of the controversy between Mr. Blinman and Mr. Miner, which led to the Church meeting at Mr. Caulkins' house.

Capt. Denison, who was present, subsequently assailed Mr. Blinman for preaching for Pawcatuck and Mystic, being a town before he sold his land there, which offensive remark he afterwards retracted before the General Court.

There was a wide difference between a minister of a town, and the pastor of a church, and no one understood this difference better than Thomas Miner. He had been connected with the Charlestown and Hingham churches and was familiar with their proceedings.

Ministers of towns never administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. But Mr. Miner records the fact of the sacraments being administered July 8th, 1655, and afterwards, before the new town controversy had alienated him and others from the members at Pequot.

After the Charter of 1662 had brought Southertown *alias* Mystic and Pawcatuck under the jurisdiction of Connecticut, Mr. Miner became reconciled to the Church at New London again, but attended meetings there only occasionally, as he was then interested in the meetings at Stonington.

During the year 1669 Mr. Miner makes this entry in his diary June 30th, saying "that I was at New London and had testimony from the Church for me and my wife being owned to be under their watch." His testimony was given to him in writing and is recorded in his diary and is as follows, viz.: "These are to signify to all whom it may concern, that we whose names are underwritten, being members of the Church of Christ at New London, do own Thomas Miner and his wife members with us, and under our care and watch, and they do live for aught we know or hear as become Christians."

JAMES AVERY,

WILLIAM DOUGLASS,

In the name and behalf of the Church.

New London, June 30th, 1669.

Mr. Bradstreet's records of the first Church of New London

commences October 5th, 1670, which, according to Trumbull's history of Connecticut, was the day of his ordination; but Thomas Miner in his diary simply says that Mr. Bradstreet was ordained October 1st, 1670.

Previous to this Mr. Miner says under date of July 27th, 1670, "that I and my wife were at New London, and Goodman Royce and Goodman Hough were received into the Church there."

Who will say, in view of these diary records of Mr. Miner, that no church existed in New London before October 1st, 1670; and further, Mr. Blinman after he left New London and in contemplation of his return back to England in 1659, sold his house and lot at New London to William Addis, and his farm at Harbor's Mouth to John Tinker. In these deeds the form used is "I, Richard Blinman, late pastor of the Church of Christ at New London." As early as 1654 Mr. Obadiah Bruen, one of the most prominent men of Pequot, and Town Clerk at the time, in a written memorandum speaks of Mr. Blinman as "Pastor of the Church of Christ at Pequot," &c.

Mr. Blinman was an educated man, and an ordained minister of the Protestant Church of England, a Puritan of the straightest sect, and knew beyond the possibility of a doubt the difference between the minister of a town and the pastor of a Church.

Thus we have testimony of Mr. Blinman, Mr. Bruen, Mr. Miner, Mr. Douglass and Capt. James Avery, that a Church existed in New London before 1670, and we may add Mr. Bradstreet's first record in proof, for he uses the simple caption "Members of the Church," not the persons who began the Church, or were embodied in the organization of the Church.

Considering the character of the men whose records and statements in writing I have introduced, and their opportunities for knowing whereof they testify, must convince every candid mind that a Church existed in Pequot in 1654 and doubtless before, because Thomas Miner in his diary record of the Church meeting of 1654 speaks of former offences being considered and settled, referring to some difficulty in the Church before that time.

The first Church of Norwich consisted of a majority of the first Church of Saybrook organized in ——— 1646, who with their minister, the Rev. James Fitch, came to Norwich as the first planters thereof in 1660. They continued their Sabbath services in the new settlement precisely as when at home in Saybrook. This emigration weakened the Saybrook Church, but did not discour-

age and leave it desolate. For as early as 1661 they engaged the Rev. Jeremiah Peck, of Guilford, Conn., to supply their pulpit. His services were not acceptable, and a controversy arose between him and the Church, which resulted in his leaving them, June 30th, 1665.

In February following the town hired Mr. Thomas Buckingham to supply the pulpit, who came and preached for them as a supply until the spring of 1670, when he was ordained over the Church.

From that time forward the Old Saybrook Church has had an uninterrupted and successful career. Unfortunately all her records before 1732 are lost.

The records of the Norwich Church for a number of years cannot be found. But all the authorities concur in saying that the Church should take its date from the year of the settlement of that town, viz., 1660. For no sooner were Mr. Fitch and his brethren located there, than they commenced and continued worship as a Church.

The general association of the Congregational Churches of Connecticut regards this Church as being organized in 1660, and it will be so found and stated in the statistics thereof.

Now let us apply the rule recognized and established by the Association and other authorities relative to the Church of Norwich to all the facts and circumstances that stand connected with the organization of the first Church of New London.

First, all the authorities concur in saying that Mr. Blinman came to this country from Steptow, Monmouthshire, England, before 1640. That there came with him a number of gentlemen of good note with their families, and nearly all of them accompanied him to Plymouth that year. But after a short stay they removed to Green Harbor, now Marshfield. But they were not contented there, nor could they agree with the planters who had preceded them. So they crossed the Bay to Cape Ann, now Gloucester, and pitched their tents in that place in 1641. During the year of 1642, joined by a few of the previous planters of Cape Ann they organized themselves into a Church with Mr. Blinman for their minister. At first all was harmonious, but in a few years dissensions arose in the Church, and out of it, caused mainly by their new friends, and Mr. Blinman was most unkindly treated by them, and when the call from Pequot came to Mr. Blinman he was not long in accepting it.

His old friends who had been with him at Plymouth and Green Harbor decided to go with him and share his fortunes. So they, a majority of the then Church of Gloucester, after disposing of their homesteads, followed Mr. Blinman to Pequot in the early spring of 1651.

Mr. Blinman and Ralph Parker preceded them and came in the fall of 1650. So during the summer of 1651 Mr. Blinman, with his Gloucester Church friends and friends at New London, assembled for public worship in Mr. Robert Park's barn meeting house,

"And the sounding aisles of the dim woods rang
With their hymns of lofty cheer."

So beyond all controversy when the majority of the members of the Gloucester Church of 1642 under their regular installed pastor, in unison with other Church members, assembled for public worship in New London in 1651, taken in connection with all the facts, precedent and subsequent thereto relating, is the time when the first Church of New London was established there.

Facts and circumstances of almost the same character and conditions stand connected with the first Church of Norwich, Conn., as those incidental to the first Church of New London, and serve to establish its existence there in 1660. The first Church at Saybrook survived the migration to Norwich, and the first Church of Gloucester survived the migration to New London. But the Church at Gloucester was more reduced thereby than the Saybrook Church. The remnant of the Gloucester Church employed Mr. William Perkins to succeed Mr. Blinman as a laborer in spiritual things, though it is not known that he was ever set apart for the work of the ministry by ordination, or that he was recognized by the ministers of his time as a fellow laborer in their calling. He was in Gloucester from 1650 to 1655, when he removed to Topsfield, Mass.

Mr. Babson, the historian of Gloucester, in a recent letter says "that the removal of Mr. Blinman and his friends to New London left the Church very weak, and no minister was regularly ordained over it till the settlement of the Rev. John Emerson in 1661. A regular succession of pastors taught the ancient faith till 1834, when a Unitarian clergyman was settled, which occasioned the secession of the orthodox members of the Church and Society."

It should be stated that Mr. Blinman's church at Gloucester did not bear so large a proportion to the previous settlers there as

they did at Pequot, nor did Mr. Fitch's church embrace all of the first planters at Norwich.

The first Church at Windsor, Conn., was formed at Plymouth, England, in 1630, when they were preparing to embark for New England; and came over the Atlantic and settled together at Dorchester, Mass.

In 1635 the majority of this Church removed to Windsor, Conn., and transplanted their Church in that place.

The remnant that remained at Dorchester convened a council April 11th, 1636, to reconstruct the Church, but the council deferred the matter till August 22d of that year, when a new Church was organized, and a covenant subscribed to by seven individuals was adopted.

So the Windsor Church dates its organization at 1630, though twice transplanted, hence our beautiful State motto :—

“He who transplanted still sustains.”

The first Church of Milford, Conn., was formed in New Haven August 22d, 1639, where the members lived at that time, but soon after its organization they removed to Milford, where they continued their worship without regard to their change of residence.

In March, 1658, the General Court of Connecticut passed an “Act that henceforth no persons in this jurisdiction shall in any way embody themselves into Church estate without the consent of the General Court, and approbation of the neighboring churches,” and the colonial records of Connecticut have been searched in vain to find the consent of the General Court, either asked for or given to any one for the organization of a Church at New London or Norwich, either prior to, or subsequent to the date of said Act of 1658. So it appears beyond all doubt that no Church was formed by Mr. Fitch and his friends when they settled Norwich in 1660, nor at New London when Mr. Bradstreet was ordained in 1670. Had Mr. Fitch or Mr. Bradstreet attempted to have organized a Church either at Norwich or New London, after the passage of said Act, the General Court would have thundered their anathemas against them, and the colonial records would have contained their proceedings chapter and verse.

In October, before Mr. Blinman left Pequot, the planters of Mystic and Pawcatuck became so exasperated at the town of Pequot and the General Court of Connecticut on account of their determined and continued opposition to their new town project, that they preferred a petition to the General Court of Massachusetts

setting forth that they had several grants of land lying on the east side of Pequot river, which they had received from the Colony of Connecticut, which was conquered Pequot land, the jurisdiction of which rightfully belonged to Massachusetts under the decision of the commissioners of the United Colonies in 1646-7, and asking from them a confirmation of their title to such grants, and also to be accepted under their government, with the liberties and privileges of a township, having already a plantation of about twenty families. The Massachusetts General Court did not reply to them directly, but sent a letter to the General Court of Connecticut, asserting jurisdiction, and requesting them not to exercise authority over, nor to be grievous to, said planters; and that in due time the question of jurisdiction could be brought before the commissioners of the United Colonies. After Mr. Blinman left Pequot in January, 1658, it will be remembered that several meetings were held there for the purpose of adjusting the difficulties into which the new town controversy had drawn them. These meetings were not productive of any good results, and left matters worse off than they found them.

On the 15th day of May, 1658, a Church meeting was held at Pequot, for what particular purpose does not appear. But having been convened, at a time when the Mystic and Pawcatuck planters were doing their utmost to break away, not only from the Church, but from the town and colony, it doubtless had some reference to, or was in some way connected with it.

The leaders of the new town enterprise were resolute and determined men. Not satisfied with the answer given to their petition of October, 1657, by the General Court of Massachusetts, they preferred another petition to that Court in May, 1658, in which they urged every possible consideration for a new town. They asserted that their plantation was settled by Gov. Winthrop under a commission from the Massachusetts Court in 1649.

Though the Connecticut Colony asserted jurisdiction in 1650, which they for the time acknowledged, yet they considered that Massachusetts had the better title, and implored the Court to grant them the liberty of a township, and the privileges thereof, with confirmation of their lands then in possession, and previously granted them by the General Court of Connecticut and by the town of Pequot.

To that petition the Massachusetts Court replied under date of June 3d, 1658, (which after noting the fact that the Court had

made no answer to their previous petition,) they concluded by saying that they would forbear further action in the premises until the next meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies.

Meantime they admonished the petitioners to carry themselves and order their affairs peaceably, and by common agreement till the commissioners should meet, which would be in September following. Acting upon this suggestion the planters at Mystic and Pawcatuck entered into a combination, and formed what they styled "The association of Pawcatuck people," which in short was nothing more nor less than a squatter sovereignty township, to which they promised due allegiance and pledged themselves to defend it with their persons and estates, according to the rules of righteousness; and when adopted, by virtue thereof, they appointed commissioners to decide all causes and punish all crimes.

During September following the commissioners met at Boston and this matter of jurisdiction came before them by the consent of both colonies; which after a number of pleas pro and con, they decided in favor of Massachusetts, and held that all of the conquered Pequot territory east of Mystic River rightfully belonged to the Massachusetts Colony.

In October, 1658, the Massachusetts Court "judged meet to grant that the English plantation between Mystic and Pawcatuck be named Southertown, and to belong to the County of Suffolk;" and then ordered that the prudential affairs thereof should be managed by a number of townsmen, "until the Court takes further" order, and then appointed three Commissioners to end small causes, and to deal in criminal matters; also appointed a Constable and Clerk of the writs. So the planters of Mystic and Pawcatuck after more than four years of unwearied labor, fruitful of controversies and alienations in Church and State, finally succeeded in obtaining a grant of a township.

They immediately abandoned their articles of association, and placed themselves under the government of Massachusetts. A majority of the planters favored the Massachusetts alliance. The minority favored the Connecticut authorities. This difference of opinion led to serious difficulties among themselves. Massachusetts did not confirm the Connecticut and Pequot grants. They had axes of their own to grind, and granted lands to their own friends and institutions.

Southertown as bounded out under an order of the Massachusetts Court, extended east from Mystic River to Wecapaug

brook some four miles east of Pawcatuck river, and northward as far as Lantern Hill on the west, and Ashaway river on the east.

The first grant of Massachusetts in 1658 was a gift of a large tract of land at Watch Hill to Harvard College, and subsequently they granted to their Boston friends almost the entire west half of the present town of Westerly. They also granted nearly one-half of the present town of Stonington to parties in and about Boston, covering the lands granted by the Connecticut authorities to Thomas Stanton, Thomas Shaw, William Chesebrough and the Taugwong grants to Thomas Miner. They also granted eight thousand five hundred acres to Harmon Garret's tribe of the Pequot Indians.

Meantime the inhabitants of Southertown were making vigorous efforts to build them a meeting-house. Rev. William Thompson came there as a missionary to the Pequot Indians the year before Mr. Blinman left Pequot. His meetings were attended by the English as well as by the Indians. He sided with the planters against Mr. Blinman and the rule of Connecticut, and signed the first petition to the Massachusetts General Court. He left in 1659.

There were several town meetings held during the years of 1659-60-61 for the purpose of building a meeting-house, which resulted in the erection of a small one, raised May 13th, 1661. The town called Rev. Zachariah Brigden, who came in September, 1661, and remained till his death, which took place April 24th, 1662. After him came Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Savage and Mr. Chauncey, who supplied the pulpit until 1664. During May of that year the town invited Mr. James Noyes, of Newbury, Mass., who came and preached as a licentiate for ten years, and until the church was organized in 1674.

In 1662 Gov. Winthrop procured the new charter from King Charles II. Under an apprehension that the Connecticut Colony might again in some way assume control, the townsmen of Southertown petitioned the Massachusetts authorities in January, 1662, to continue their protection, assuring them of their continued loyalty, and setting forth that the Connecticut men were causing factions and divisions among them. Massachusetts made no reply. In the autumn of that year the charter came which fixed the lower eastern line of Connecticut at Pawcatuck river, which of course included Southertown in Connecticut. The inhabitants did not relish this change, nor did they at first acquiesce, but after some two years in October, 1664, in response to a summons from the

General Court of Connecticut, they sent William Chesebrough, the original founder of the town, to Hartford, to make their peace with the Connecticut authorities.

He succeeded, and the General Court granted them a general amnesty.

The General Court of Connecticut had no particular regard for the name of Southertown, so in 1665 they changed it to that of Mystic, "in memory of that victory God has pleased to give this people of Connecticut over the Pequot Indians," and the Court might have added what they no doubt rejoiced over, that Winthrop had been too sharp for Massachusetts with the King and that they had recovered nearly all of the conquered Pequot territory.

Rhode Island did not join the confederation of the United Colonies, nor did she cherish much respect for the decisions of their Commissioners.

In 1660 what is known as the Misquamieut purchasers bought that portion of the conquered Pequot territory that was situated east of Pawcatuck river of Soso, a Narragansett Captain, who claimed to have ousted the Pequots therefrom before the Pequot war. They commenced a settlement there in 1661, ousting all the Massachusetts and Connecticut grantees and the Pequot Indians, driving them over the river into Stonington.

In 1666 the General Court of Connecticut for reasons not now understood changed the name of the town from Mystic to Stonington. In 1668 a census of its inhabitants was ordered, and the same year a portion of them asked the General Court for liberty to settle themselves in Church order which was granted, and the town set apart five hundred acres of land for the ministry. The census showed a list of forty-two inhabitants, residing on the territory now embraced in the limits of Stonington and North Stonington.

The meeting-house erected in 1661 was a frail affair, and during the year 1670 the town voted to build a bigger and a better meeting-house upon the most convenient place of the ministry land. A site was selected and a new meeting-house was built thereon during the years 1672-3, and on the 3d day of June, 1674, the first Church of Stonington was formed.

So after twenty years of more or less distractions among themselves as they termed it, and bitter controversies with the Connecticut and Massachusetts Colonies and the town of Pequot

and New London about the organization of their township; and the unhappy difference with Mr. Blinman in 1654; nine of their inhabitants, viz: Mr. James Noyes, Mr. Thomas Stanton, Mr. Nathaniel Chesebrough, Mr. Thomas Miner, Mr. Nehemiah Palmer, Mr. Ephraim Miner, Mr. Thomas Stanton, Jr., Mr. Moses Palmer and Mr. Thomas Wheeler, united in a covenant commencing as follows: "In order to begin and gather a Church of Christ in Stonington this 3d day of June, 1674, do covenant, etc."

The Rev. James Noyes, who came to Southertown in 1664 as a teacher and licentiate, was not ordained until Sept. 10th, 1674, after which he continued his labors with the Stonington Church and people until his death, which took place Dec. 30th, 1719.

I have thus sketched the early history of Stonington and the organization of its first Church, because they are both intimately connected with the early history of New London and its first Church.

The foregoing historical sketches of the first Churches of New London, Norwich and Stonington establishes the fact that the Church organized in Gloucester, Mass., in 1642, with Mr. Richard Blinman as its pastor, removed to and was transplanted in New London in 1651. The Church formed in Saybrook, Conn., in 1646, with Mr. James Fitch as its pastor, removed to and was transplanted in Norwich in 1660. The first Church of Stonington was organized in that town June 3d, 1674.

RICHARD A. WHEELER.

THE TRADITION OF MICAH ROOD.

In a deep valley in the town of Franklin, Conn., about eighty rods from the New London and Northern Railway Station, stands a time-scarred apple tree, the lineal representative of a variety that from the early settlement of the region by the whites, has been perpetuated by successive sproutings over the original roots, and that for one hundred and seventy years has kept alive in the vicinity a tradition of crime and retribution. For nearly a century and three-fourths every apple grown upon that spot has contained a small red globule resembling a drop of blood. Within the memory of the living the fruit ranked as *par excellence* the local favorite, on account of luscious juiciness, and rich spicy flavor. Latterly its reputation has declined, partly from neglect and natural deterioration, and partly from the introduction of improved varieties.

It is claimed as a result established by numerous experiments that while seedlings grafted from the primitive stock preserve the other qualities of the fruit, in all such the blood spot refuses to materialize. This elusive peculiarity can only be fixed and diffused by transplanting shoots from the root. From its birth place in Norwich-West-Farms — now Franklin — the “Mike” or “Rood” apple, for it is known by both names, spread over the adjacent country, and for a long period in Eastern Connecticut no orchard was thought complete without it.

In 1699, Micah Rood, youngest son of Thomas Rood, migrating from east of the Shetucket River, settled in Norwich-West-Farms upon the lands where he subsequently lived and died. West of his house not far away the Susquetonscut danced through a wild, dark, rocky ravine—a retreat still unshorn of its weird, primeval beauty. On the east rose a steep hill destined in due time to be crowned by the Puritan church. Then as now the whippoorwills loved the deep seclusion of the well wooded, well watered valley, and with their melancholy notes broke the solemn stillness of summer nights. Indians were numerous though

peaceful. On the western slope of the hill toward the setting sun the colonist built his house. He was young and strong. The acres around were fertile. The situation seemed to hold for him the promise of a long, reputable and tranquil life.

In blessed monotony the seasons came and went, bringing moderate gains to the farmer. Suddenly, however, as the tradition goes, a great change clouded the spirits and altered the habits of Micah Rood. He lost interest in work and worship. Cattle were neglected and neighbors shunned. With swift decline, as autumn deepened into winter, he grew idle, restless and intemperate. Some attributed the change to witchcraft. Others discerned in these wayward actions premonitory signs of madness. In a sparsely settled community, occupied as such are, outside of the routine of daily duties, with matters personal rather than general, the good people discussed the subject with curious but kindly interest.

Winter wore away, the melting snows poured their roaring floods through the chasm near by, the birds returned, and the orchard of Micah Rood blossomed again. On one tree, however, it was noticed that the flowers had turned from white to red. In an age inclined to superstition and credent of marvels, the phenomenon attracted the attention of passers, assuming more ominous significance when afterwards recalled. To this tree, too, Micah seemed to be drawn by a cruel but resistless fascination. After the nerveless labors of the morning, which left his corn overrun with weeds, he sought beneath its shade relief from the heats of midday. Evening found him in the same retreat, alone with the katydids and whippoorwills. Toward the close of August the red blossoms had developed into fruit. When the large, yellow apples fell from the branches, though as fair, juicy and toothsome as of old, each one was found to contain the well defined globule to be known thereafter as the "drop of blood."

If the conduct of Micah, his lapse from industry, thrift and contentment, into idleness and solitude, had been discussed around many scattered fire-sides, the still more unaccountable behavior of the apple tree deepened the mystery. To a large degree the history of the different colonists was known to each other. What was there, they asked, in the monotonous, common place record of this one to provoke the doom, already sounded in multiform warnings? His father, Thomas, had lived decorously and died in the faith. No ancestral curse visited upon the son vicarious pun-

ishment for the sins of the sire. Yet not only did the current judgment of the time pronounce the poor man accursed, but easily passed on to assert that the blight extended to the acres he tilled. Around the victim consumed by the fires of some hidden sin an occult power was throwing out signals of knowledge if not of wrath.

One circumstance, seemingly unimportant at the time of its occurrence, came into prominence a year later as offering the probable explanation of the secret. It was remembered that the previous fall a pedlar of foreign aspect and vending wares too luxurious and costly for the lean purses of an outlying settlement, had called at several houses in West-Farms and passed a night at Micah Rood's. No one in the township had seen him afterwards. Then and there all trace of the stranger disappeared. Rising early the next morning he might have pushed on east or west, but if so his departure was unnoticed. Like countless other incidents this one would speedily have been swallowed up forever in the sea of oblivion, except that it marked a turning point in the fate of the host. When pursuit fairly started on the trail indicated by the coincidence, the public made up for lost time in the collection of facts. The apparent intervention of a supernatural power—the blood-spot in the apple—lent a ghostly interest to the inquiry not dissonant to the moral tone of the period.

The unusual mien of the pedlar made it the more easy to trace his steps from door to door. After comparing impressions the settlers quite generally concluded that he was a French emissary, sent to spy out the weakness of the infant colony. Traffic could hardly have been his object, for his wares were too unsuited to the market. A secret agent of an unfriendly power, starting on an extended circuit in the character of a trader, would, they argued, naturally take a stock at once attractive to win admission everywhere and stimulate talk, and also unsalable that the pack might travel a long way without need of replenishment. Having progressed thus far in the investigation, by a bold leap the public jumped to the conclusion that Micah, overpowered either by avarice, or perhaps by a freak of patriotic frenzy, had stabbed the pedlar in the orchard, and that the blood, absorbed by the roots of the overhanging tree, became incarnate in flower and fruit. Thus both in seed time and harvest that silent but awful witness denounced the murderer for the deed.

We may imagine that stealthy visits were made to the orchard

by persons intent on unearthing more substantial proofs of the crime. Early comers, however, found no seam in the sod to indicate that it had been broken for a grave. Cautiously as befitted the strange solemnity of the situation, but with an acuteness that suffered no fact which might throw light upon the case to escape attention, was the search pursued. Yet the inquest failed to disclose a trace of the missing man. The foreign finery which made up the stock of the pedlar had disappeared as completely as the owner. By not so much as a fragment of the well-remembered stuff was the abode of Micah garnished. Zeal unrewarded by discovery was exhausted in time from lack of aliment. After the inquiry, hushed but keen, had spent its force, the case remained precisely as at first. At the close as at the beginning the evidence was summed up in the manifestations of a troubled spirit and in a blood-mottled apple. If a load rested on the conscience of the wretched farmer, it forced no confession from his lips.

In time the suspicions of the neighborhood softened into sympathy. In sore need of sympathy did poor Micah stand, for his worldly affairs drifted from bad to worse as he sank ever deeper in the slough of poverty and dejection. Around the orchard the fence fell to decay, the unfilled barn tottered in the winds which swept through the valley, and the habitation grew more and more desolate. Too listless to cultivate the soil, or possibly terrified by spectral fears while working in the fields alone, he assumed the care of the meeting-house in 1717, receiving as compensation a peck of corn yearly from each family in the society.

For ten years thereafter a curtain hides the sufferer from the view of posterity, but it is lifted to disclose the end. The records of the ecclesiastical society, still extant, contain these entries:

“July 5, 1727. The inhabitants do now, by their vote, agree to allow to each man that watches with Micah Rood, two shillings per night; also to those who have attended sd Rood by day, three shillings per day.”

“December 17, 1728. To Jacob Hyde for digging Micah Rood's grave £0. 4s. 0d.”

Such are the outlines of the story as told to persons still living by old people whose birth-date reached far back into the last century. Apparently they experienced no difficulty in accepting both the alleged facts and the implied philosophy. As then viewed the Seen and the Unseen, the Natural and the Supernatural, crossed

each other in unaccountable ways. It did not seem unreasonable that Nature should thus overtly record her abhorrence of human crime.

“ For murder, though it have no tongue, will speak
With most miraculous organ.”

On the other hand, traditions involving the improbable fare roughly in the alembic of modern criticism. Reasoning from the universality of invariable law, the iconoclast will say that a freak of nature was perverted to blast the life and blacken the memory of one who was probably little better or worse than the average of his neighbors—that in the confusion of sequences effect was confounded with cause. He will urge that the long-endured misery resulted less from the stings of avenging conscience than from the cruelty of unjust suspicions. Be that as it may, while the blood-spotted apple continues to grow, it will be linked with the name and fame of Micah Rodd.

EARLY PRINTING,

BY

THOMAS S. COLLIER.

Read before the Society, at its Annual Meeting,
Sept. 15, 1891.

EARLY PRINTING

IN NEW ENGLAND.

There is no other branch of industry that more forcibly exemplifies the consolidation of particular callings about the great centres of population and trade, than the printing of books. The newspaper we have with us everywhere, but the many places that were book-making marts, up to and in some cases beyond the first quarter of the present century, have now ceased to issue even the sermon of the popular pastor.

It would be quite an interesting thing to gather together the different imprints, or rather one each of the different imprints of our early American printing. Who now thinks of Exeter, New Hampshire; Brookfield and Lancaster, Massachusetts; New London, Connecticut; Utica, New York; Morristown, New Jersey; and Germantown and Lancaster, Pennsylvania; as places noted for the production of printed books. And yet they were such, and at a date within the memory of some now living, and many other towns that have almost ceased to have an existence on the most elaborate map, once boasted of their printing presses, and sent forth their quota of what are now long forgotten books.

True, there was a sameness about the books issued that we would consider rather monotonous, and which may be the reason of the present ignorance concerning them, yet to the early settlers they were "food for thought" through the long winters that cut off communication with the outside world. Four classes of books were issued by our early presses, and by this is meant not four sizes, but books devoted to four subjects of then engrossing interest.

The first in importance, if we consider the number published, and the diversity of the subjects discussed, were the sermons. The worthy divines of that day let no occasion or event that could "point a moral" pass unnoticed, and the sermon thus distinguished was sure to find its way to the printing office and thence to the homes of the people, where it formed the one recreation for many days. Thunder claps, comets, earthquakes, hail storms,

great winds, heavy snows, births, marriages and deaths, the use of soldiers, the election of officers by a company of militia, war, victories, peace, pestilence, the execution of criminals, eccentricities of character, the building of bridges, wonderful dreams, the conversion of children; in fact, every event that broke the monotony of the colonists' struggle with nature and the Indians, found its way to the printing office and preservation, through the kindly help of a sermon. There was, too, an annual election sermon, preached at the assembling of the legislative bodies, and these were always printed for the edification of the people living too far away to attend their delivery.

Of course, to people who looked upon sermons as a literary feast, the religious controversy was an excitement that furnished subject for conversation during long months, and these books were eagerly sought after, and furnish a large class in our early printing. The production of these and of all the classes mentioned, was not confined to New England alone, for they are found largely prevalent in the early imprints of all of the colonies, Pennsylvania keeping pace with Massachusetts in their production. The advent of a new sect, the preaching of a new creed, was sure to awaken a lively interest, and the pastor who did not put on his armor when the foe invaded his dominions, and dare the intruder to a long and valiant battle of words, lost the confidence of his flock, and ceased to be useful to their salvation.

And no matter how peaceful the mind, or how kindly the soul of the minister, occasions to call forth his controversial wrath were never lacking. If it was not some rattlebrained adherent of the Church of England, who devoted his days to courtship, and his nights to feasting and revel, it was a sedate Quaker, with pensive garb and contumacious gravity, that would disturb the smooth tenor of the 50th sermon on the Burning Bush, and cause him to advance his divisions from twentiethly to fortiethly, and give the sexton infinite trouble with small boys and girls to whom these things were sleep compelling.

And the country was as full of creeds and schisms then as it is now, for each ship seemed to bring over new ones, and there were discussions, and denunciations, and controversies raging through the length and breadth of the land. Baptists, Methodists, Quakers, Rogerenes, the Churches of Rome and England, and at the last Unitarianism and Universalism, all furnished their quota of discussion, and each side published arguments, often in-

cluding their enemy's tract with their own, that their refutation of his heresies might be made more striking to the readers.

A large library of either of these branches of early American printing could easily be gathered.

The next class, and historically the most important, as well as the most curious and interesting, was that devoted to Indian captivities and Indian wars. Numerous editions of the histories of Capt. Church, Major John Mason, the Rev. William Hubbard and others were printed, yet all of the early imprints are scarce, showing how much they were read. Of these volumes, the history of the Rev. Mr. Hubbard seemed to be the most popular, judging from its appearance in almost every place where a printing press was established.

The title of a book once so popular will be of interest, and is here given:

"A Narrative of the Indian Wars in New England, from the First Planting thereof in the Year 1607, to the Year 1677: Containing a Relation of the Occasions, Rise and Progress of the War with the Indians, in the Southern, Western, Eastern, and Northern parts of said Country. By William Hubbard, A. M., Minister of Ipswich.

"And the Lord said unto Moses, write this for a memorial in a book.—Exod. xvii. 14.

"Which we have heard and known, and our Fathers have told us. That the generation to come might know them, even the children which should be born: Who should arise and declare them to their children.—Psal. lxxviii. 3, 6."

This title is not the original, but is that given in the later and more popular editions, of which there are many imprints, the first being that of John Boyle of Boston, 1775, followed by D. Greenleaf, Worcester, 1801; J. Trumbull, Norwich, 1802; Stiles Nichols, Danbury, 1803; Heman Willard, Stockbridge, 1803; William Fessenden, Brattleboro, 1814, and W. E. Woodward, Roxbury, 1865.

The first title was: "The Present State of New England. Being a Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England, from the first Planting thereof in the year 1607, to this present year 1677; but Chiefly of the late Troubles in the last two years, 1675 and 1676. To which is added a Discourse about the War with the Pequods in 1637."

This was printed by John Foster, in Boston, in 1677; and by Tho. Parkhurst, in London, during the same year.

Holding place with the histories, were the narratives of Indian captivities. They were more numerous, and quite as interesting, the most noted, perhaps, being that of the Rev. John Williams, captured in the attack on Deerfield in February, 1704. As this title is a curiosity, it is given entire:

"The Redeemed Captive returning to Zion. A Faithful History of Remarkable Occurrences, in the Captivity and Deliverance of Mr. John Williams, Minister of the Gospel in Deerfield, who, in the Desolation which befel that Plantation, by the Incursion of the French and Indians, was by them carried away, with his family, and his Neighborhood, unto Canada. Drawn by Himself. Whereto there is annexed a sermon preached by him, upon his return, at the Lecture in Boston, December 5th, 1706, on those Words, Luke viii. 29, Return to thine own house, and show how great things God hath done unto thee.

"As also an Appendix, containing an Account of those taken Captive at Deerfield, February 29th, 1703-4; those killed after they went out of town; those who returned; and of those still absent from their native country; of those who were slain at that time in or near the town; and of the mischief done by the enemy in Deerfield, from the beginning of its settlement to the death of the Rev. Mr. Williams in 1729.

"With a conclusion to the whole, by the Rev. Mr. Williams of Springfield, and the Rev. Mr. Prince of Boston. 1 vol., 12 mo., pp. 72. Boston: Printed. New London: Re-printed by T. Green."

One would think that the preceding title was comprehensive enough for a book of 72 pages, but it did not seem so, as on page 59 is the following sub-title:

"Reports of divine kindness or remarkable mercies should be faithfully published for the praise of God the giver. Set forth in a sermon preached at Boston lecture, December 5, 1706. By John Williams, pastor of the Church of Christ in Deerfield; soon after his return from a doleful captivity.

"Psal. 107, 13, 14, 15, 32. He saved them out of their distresses. He brought them out of darkness and the shadow of death, and brake their bands in sunder. O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness; and for his wonderful work to the children of men.—Let them exalt him also in the congregation of the people, and praise him in the assembly of the elders.

"Psal. 34, 3. O magnify the Lord with me, and let us exalt his name together.

"New London: Re-printed and sold by T. Green, 1773."

Copies of this narrative bear the following imprints: B. Green, Boston, 1707; T. Fleet, Boston, 1720; S. Kneeland, Boston, 1758; John Boyle, Boston, 1774; T. Green, New London, 1773; T. Green, New London, 1780; T. Dickman, Greenfield, 1793; T. Dickman, Greenfield, 1800; Wm. W. Morse, New Haven, 1802; Hori Brown, Brookfield, 1811; and S. Hall, Boston, 1795.

The last, and perhaps most curious of the four classes referred to, was the "Almanacks." These were legion in number, for no place that had a press felt content without its Almanack, and the volume so named was an indispensable book in every household.

The first book printed in America was a tract entitled: "The Freeman's Oath," the printing being the work of Stephen Day, or as sometimes written, Daye. This was in 1639, and the same year Mr. Daye printed "An Almanack, calculated for New England, by Mr. Pierce, Mariner.

The year begins with March, as it did in all the early New England Almanacks.

The names of the different makers of almanacks cannot all be recovered, but besides the Mr. Pierce, Mariner, previously noted, are the names of Samuel Danforth, Urian Oakes, Israel Chauncey, Alexander Nowell, T. S. and S. B., who appended Philomathemat to their initials; Samuel Beakenbury, Josiah Flint, Joseph Dudley, J. B., J. R., John Tully, Samuel Cheever, Nathaniel Chauncey, Daniel Russell, Jeremiah Shepard, John Foster, Nehemia Hobart, J. Sherman, T. Brattle, J. Danforth, Cotton Mather, N. Russell, Benjamin Gillan, W. Williams, N. Mather, Thos. Trigg, Henry Newman, Samuel Clough, and these were only Boston and Cambridge makers of Almanacks, previous to 1707. The Ames, Sherman, Davis, Elliott, Freebetter, Middlebrook, Beers, Stafford, Allen, Strong, Daboll, Thomas and other well known series came later, and those of Daboll and Thomas are still running.

And it must not be thought that the old almanac was not of literary value, for no more curious and entertaining reading than that afforded by a collection of early American almanacs, can be found. They were not given up to the records of the weather alone, but each old calendar was also a purveyor of news, an anthology, a receptacle for the perpetuation of remarkable events, a symposium of the wits of their day, and a continued cyclopedia of anecdotes, grave, gay, humorous and patriotic. In the case of the series that bear the names of Ames and Franklin, they became a vehicle for the dissemination of moral, philosophical and eco-

nomic axioms and epigrams, and even the sea serpent was impressed into its service, and made to add to the entertainment it afforded.

The quotation of verses over the monthly calendar, was early begun, and soon reached the printing of long poems, running at the heading till finished. Thus one of Southwick's gives the "Picture of a New England Village," by T. Dwight, D. D., and a copy of *The North American* has "The Lover's Song, or The Seasons," "To Sleep," and "A Sonnet," over the calendars, and adds to these seven other poems, odes, epigrams, epitaphs, and general verses, in the body of the book, scattering them among anecdotes of various kinds, receipts for the cure of corns and the bites of mad dogs, and sundry other ills of humanity, with an account of a late improvement in the making of boots and shoes.

The almanac, too, was the receipt book of the farmer and his wife. Here Darby was told how to raise pigs, how to graft trees, and also introduced to the mysteries of cabbage planting and pruning, and informed concerning the chemical properties of the soil needed by different trees and grains; and also given a knowledge of the provender that made hens produce the most eggs, and that which most rapidly increased the weight of beeves and other cattle. Here Joan was told how to make butter and jams, and had the new manner of weaving and knitting explained; and French methods of boiling soups, the secrets of flower culture, the best way to keep a house tidy, with many other items concerning her work, was placed ready to her hand.

Even politics were included, and the favorite candidates were lauded; sittings of courts were given; roads and distances told of, with the best houses of entertainment along them, and elaborate financial tables and documents were often added.

But while the four classes mentioned formed the staple of the early printing of the country, other matter crept in. Roger Wolcott, general of the Connecticut forces at the siege of Louisburg, and afterwards governor of the colony, had a volume of poems issued by T. Green, in New London, in 1725. Here, too, one of the most famous of the controversy volumes appeared in 1729, that of the Rev. John Bulkley. The Rogerenes also printed their tracts in this section, and with them vexed the soul of the Rev. Mr. Byles, and those of the ministers in Norwich and Stonington, which places were long the seat of book-issuing presses; and gradually, histories, biographies, school books and the lighter

kinds of literature found their way to the printing offices. Usually, poetry was printed in the old broadside fashion, and contained as strange a gathering of subjects as did the almanacs.

And in this array, the county of New London, in the colony of Connecticut, with its presses at New London, which was the official press, at Norwich and Stonington, held no retired position. Their imprints were widely scattered, and many were much sought for, so that even now, the bibliopole finds no contentment in his collection of Americana, unless many books so marked occupy prominent places on his shelves.

COPY OF
A CURIOUS OLD AFFIRMATION,

CONTRIBUTED BY

JUDGE CHARLES TURNER.

A CURIOUS OLD AFFIRMATION.

BOSTON, NEW ENGLAND, 13TH NOV., 1716.

IN PERPETUAM IBI MEMORIAM.

Mrs. Susan Crawford, being married unto an husband involved in many debts, was willing to reserve some treasures of her own for her daughter, Mrs. Mary Payne, whom she had by a former husband. There lived with her a young woman, called Ann Griffin, who was many ways useful and endeared to her, and knew her purpose to bestow the sd treasure on her daughter, for whom she also had a very hearty affection. When Mrs. Crawford lay a dying, Ann Griffin thought this, on some accounts the fittest opportunity to transfer unto Mrs. Payne what was designed for her, and accordingly she took out of ye box in which there were pieces of gold and golden —— ? and a considerable quantity of silver money, but in such a manner as to remain very ignorant of what she took [only that it was all yt was there] and putting all into an earthen pitcher she carried them with water, to prevent any enquiries from such as might happen to meet her in the street, and conveyed yem to Mrs. Payne with an accoont yt here were ye things her mother had intended for her.

After the death of Mrs. Crawford there was some neighbors to whose evil insinuations and instigations Mrs. Payne so far hearkened as to countenance evil surmizes of Mrs. Griffin's not having dealt faithfully with her, and in her passion to deny that she remembered her having received certain particulars that were specified, and have been —— ? acknowledged; several times under these passionate impressions Mrs. Payne uttered her wishes that her mother would appear and set all to rights, and Mrs. Griffin had no remedy but to commit her cause unto God who judgeth righteously. Some time about the latter end of the last year, one whose name is Ruth Weeden, lodging in the house and bed with Miss Griffin, about break of day, being awaikened while Mrs. Griffin was a sleeping in the bed by her side, plainly saw the apparition of the deceased Mrs. Crawford [who had been dead over three years before], first at the foot of the bed, from whence

it came up to the left side thereof, where she lay, she had on a suit of stript calamanco, a white apron, a white neck cloth, a laced pinner on her head, and a fresh countenance, but all over so luminous yt though ye room were darkened with window shutters as well as the remainder of the night, ye whole room was lightened; she said unto Mrs. Weeden to this effect, "I gave Ann yt money," and without any more words disappeared. Mrs. Weeden took ye first opportunity to ask her awaikened friend whether Mrs. Crawford had ever given her any money, whereupon Mrs. Griffin told her she had yt is yt a little before she died. Mrs. Crawford had expressly bid here keep for her own a little some of money yt she had in her hands, and yen also gave her a —— ? that she wears ever since. Mrs. Griffin added unto Mrs. Weeden that she supposed the sum was four pounds. After this the house underwent various disturbances at several times, whereof no account could be given, and it was observed yt ye disturbances chiefly happened just after passionate wishes had been uttered for Mrs. Crawford's appearance. At last on the twenty-ninth of this last October, early in ye morning, Mrs. Griffin being risen and gone, and Mrs. Weeden going to rise, there was another plain apparition of Mrs. Crawford unto Mrs. Weeden. The spectre now had a white sheet on her which covered her from head to foot, only her face was uncovered, and plainer yn in ye former exhibition, tho ye room was now darkened very near as much as formerly, yt ye spectre had such a light attending it as rendered not only yt, but other objects visible. The spectre spoke to Mrs. Weeden to this effect: Go tell my daughter yt Ann has faithfouly delived all yt she was to delivar unto her and yt if she do not clear Ann and right her I shall appear unto her also. Mrs. Weeden replied, Go to her ye self. The spectre seemed at this to look displeased and said, no, you must go, go you. Mrs. Weeden intimated yt she doubted she should not be believed. To this ye spectre answered, yt ye mention of two tokens would make her to be believed; ye one was that a young man should come to we house this day with a letter and for a picture; the other was yt Ann had now in her possession a necklace of fat amber, which once had been hers; the spectre added yt Ann had mistaken the sum of money she had spokon of; it was not four pounds, but three. Go to Ann and she shall satisfy you yt it may be known it is true; one thing more she added, web was yt her daughter had received ye Arabian pennies, whereof it seems it was known yt Mrs. Crawford had a considerable quantity,

but part of ye discord had arisen from their not being found among the money delivered unto Mrs. Payne, but not in ye money, whereupon she disappeared and left Mrs. Weeden in a swoon upon her fright, wherein she continued, as she supposes near an hour. Upon recovering from ye swoon, she first asked Mrs. Griffin about a young man coming to ye house, & Mrs. Griffin made answer that while she was in her swoon a young man who came from New York had been at ye house with a letter & for a picture. She yn repeated ye rest of ye spectral discourse. Mrs. Griffin informed her yt she had ye necklace mentioned, which Mrs. Payne had presented to her, but this was a matter which Mrs. Weeden had been til now a stranger to, & ye Mrs. Griffin who had never til now counted or touched ye money which Mrs. Crawford had given her, going on this occasion to examine it found yt she had been mistaken, & yt ye spectre in the right, it being but three pounds. Upon discourse with Mrs. Payne hereupon ye difference between her and Mrs. Griffin was healed, a mutual reconciliation ensued, and Mrs. Payne declared her entire satisfaction in Mrs. Griffin's fidelity.

This relation being distinctly read to Mrs. Griffin & Mrs. Weeden from whom it was declared, they both declared yt it is unto the best of their knowledge and judgment a true relation. Each of ym declared that what part ye foregoing narrative they are distinctly concerned in are truly related; More particularly Ann Griffin declares yt what is related of her justice to Mrs. Payne and of ye money given to her by Mrs. Crawford is ye very truth. Ruth Weeden declares yt what is related of ye spectral apparition is ye very truth, and yt she had no knowledge of ye money given by Mrs. Crawford unto Mrs. Griffin, nor of ye young man's coming for ye picture til Mrs. Griffin informed her at ye time specified in ye account above given of it. And both of them do with all due solemnity declare that yt that they are not in the least measure guilty of ye least contrivance or collusion to impose on ye belief of any person, in any one article of the foregoing native.

To the truth of this declaration Ann Griffin and Ruth Weeden made oath on this thirteenth day of November, 1716.

Before me: EDU. HUTCHINSON, Just. Ps.

NOTE.—A true copy of the original in the possession of Mrs. Darrow, of Waterford. The blanks in the text were so obliterated in the original, as to be indecipherable, but the first seems to refer to money, and may mean "golden money," the term being used in wills and documents of the period. The second blank might read "by her," and the last, either "ring," or some garment, gowns, petticoats, and other articles of dress being often mentioned as bequests in wills of early colonial times. The word arrangement and spelling of the original has been retained, that this curious document might lose none of its flavor of antiquity.

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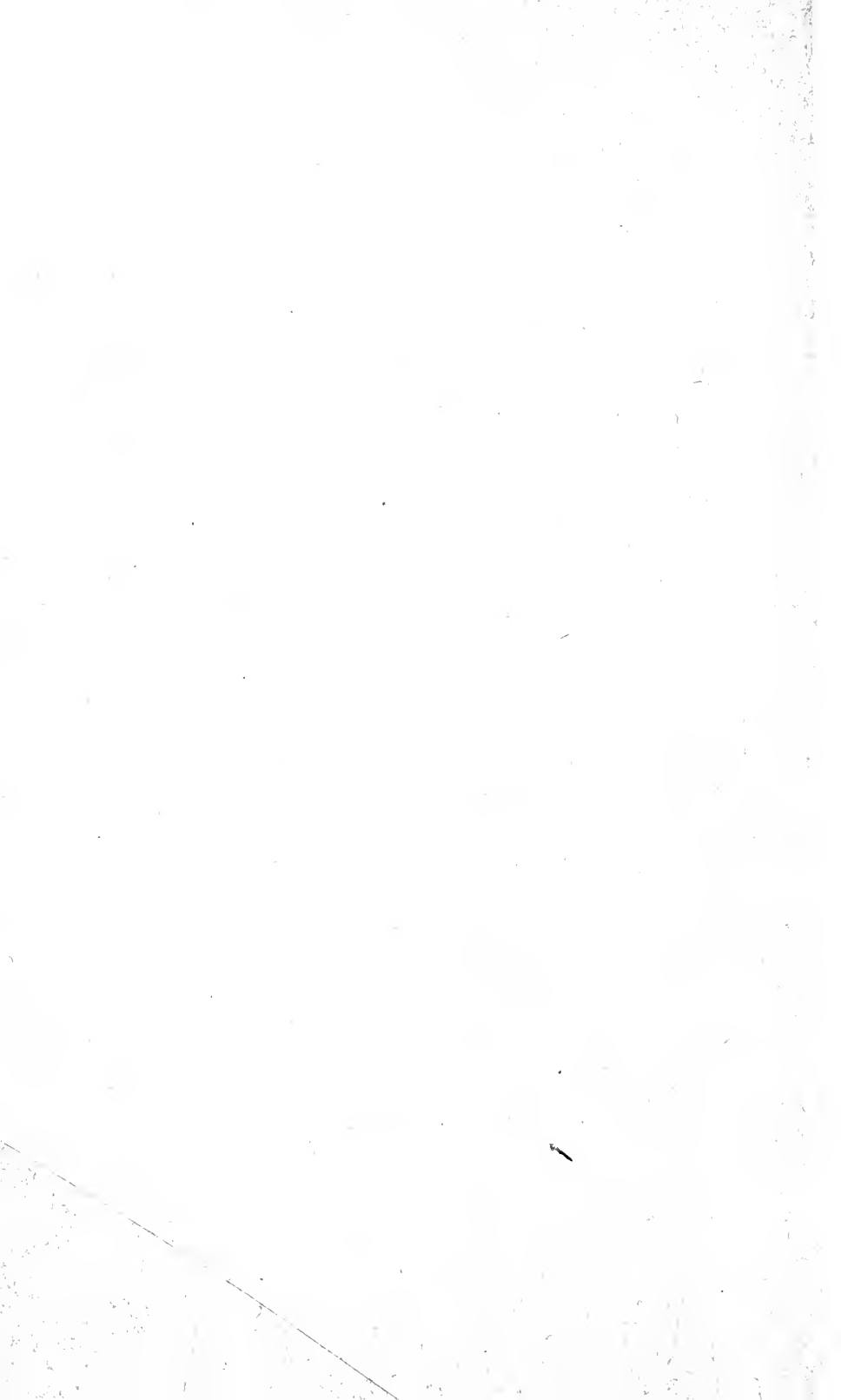
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HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

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ARRANGED BY THE SECRETARY.

350.10
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY:
NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT.

1893.

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1893.

THE DAY PRINT, NEW LONDON, CONN.

F102

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THE
Revolutionary Privateers

—OF—

CONNECTICUT,

—WITH—

AN ACCOUNT OF THE STATE CRUISERS,

—AND—

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE CONTINENTAL NAVAL VESSELS
BUILT IN THE STATE, WITH LISTS OF OFFICERS
AND CREWS.

—BY—

THOMAS S. COLLIER, U. S. N.,
SECRETARY OF THE NEW LONDON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY ; CORRESPONDING
MEMBER OF THE BUFFALO AND WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL
SOCIETIES.

NEW LONDON, CONN.,
1892.

INTRODUCTION.

There is a lamentable dearth of material from which to gather a full account of the enterprise and achievements of the Revolutionary Privateers, a lack in which Connecticut shares. Perhaps it would be better to say that there is an ignorance concerning the location of this material, for since the gathering embraced in these pages was begun, many items have been discovered in places where one would scarcely expect to find them, and much other interesting matter may be hidden in like receptacles. One of the objects in publishing this account in its present fragmentary form is to stimulate a search for all such material, that the more complete history of which this sketch only aims to be preliminary, may be furthered and made sure. That a complete history of the work of the Revolutionary Privateers, not only of Connecticut, but of all the colonies engaged in that glorious struggle, seems to be warranted, nay—demanded, the actions of these vessels, small in size and insignificant in force as many of them were, demonstrates.

It was only in size that they were insignificant. In the results that followed their cruising, in the daring that distinguished their actions, in the enterprise that led them to seek for prizes in the face of forces much superior, they showed that they were no mean factor in the struggle which brought about American Independence. No men were more spirited than the crews of those vessels, none showed greater determination in their encounters with the British, and even in the imperfect records of their deeds that we possess, are found the accounts of adventures and triumphs of which any regular navy might well be proud.

And in summing up the causes that led to the ultimate success of the Revolutionary struggle, the work of the Privateers has been overlooked altogether, or if mentioned, it has been in that perfunctory way which is best described by the saying—"damning with faint praise." Yet when their achievements are honestly considered, no power wielded a wider influence in the seven years of conflict between the thirteen colonies from which this nation sprang,

and Great Britain, than did this same body that history so seldom mentions. To them belongs the honor of being largely instrumental in awaking an anti-war sentiment in the powerful commercial class of England. Daring in all that gave even the slightest hope of success, shunning neither privation nor danger, the Privateers of the Colonies thronged the seas, and their prizes were a source of supply for the army, and a cause of discontent with the merchants of London, Bristol and other centers of commerce. When these men found their anticipated gains greatly reduced by the daring of the American Privateers, who changed the destination of many rich cargoes, they began to grow impatient at the long continuance of a struggle in which neither wealth nor honor were reaped, and they soon found means to make their protests heard. Not only in the halls of Parliament were these spoken, but they invaded the councils of the king and his ministers, and these, stubborn though the king was, and loath to acknowledge defeat as were the ministers, saw that a time had been reached when they had best heed the signs of the times. The surrender of Cornwallis gave them an opportunity to retreat from the position they had held, without seeming to give too much force to the murmurs of discontent that had grown so persistent and so loud, and they consented to open negotiations looking to a settlement in line with the demands of the Colonies.

It would be unwise to claim that peace and independence, were wholly the result of the captures made by the Privateers, but it would be equally unjust to say that these had no share in the accomplishment that made the United States a fact among the nations of the earth. Even when the loss of the second great army that surrendered, became known, it is doubtful whether the stubborn soul of George the Third would have allowed the beginning of negotiations looking toward peace and independence, had not the demands of the English merchants been made too loud by the losses caused by our Privateers, to be ignored. In view of this, it is disappointing to think that so little is known of the actions of men who were not to be deterred by storm or force. Often only a slight notice in the weekly press, tells of a deed that rivals the battles of Paul Jones and Nelson in seamanship and courage; and now and then, the unearthing of old letters in some cobweb festooned garret, gives evidence that not all of our bravest commanders served in the regular navy. And from the

material thus far discovered, one thing becomes certain—among the men who thus made the sea dangerous for all the merchant craft of Great Britain, none were more persistent, more daring, or more successful than the sailors of Connecticut, and no port sent out more cruisers than did the little city seated on the left bank of the Thames, a fact that was emphasized in a manner which has left a mark on the history of our nation that neither time or tempest can efface. Let us give due honor, then, to the men, who, when national vessels were few, carried the flag across the ocean, and flaunted it in the face of the enemy in the very chops of the English Channel. Let us remember the men who held the discomfiture of the foe the one great object of life; and who, even though they did not hold a commission from the Continental Congress, yet placed both life and fortune in the struggle with a trust that was inspiring and a faith that presaged victory. They crossed the sea in small vessels, to beard the enemy at the mouth of his own harbors; they took prizes out of fleets strongly convoyed, and in sight of the ships that had made the sea a terror to all other foes; and by their daring and persistence, they made a record that is too full of brave exploits to be forgotten. In the laudation of the deeds that were performed by our armies, and in contemplating the glory that came to the men of Bunker Hill, Valley Forge, Stony Point and Yorktown, and to the few ships that constituted our regular navy, we have passed over actions that were equally brave and patriotic, and have allowed forgetfulness to cloud a fame that is too bright to sink into oblivion. Let the history of which this account is a fragment, grow to completeness, for thus only can we be just to the men who held life as nothing when the cause of liberty was at stake.

The few records that have been rescued from the dust of years, have been arranged chronologically in the case of the Privateers, but in the matter referring to state and continental vessels, the facts have been taken up and followed to the end of the career of each, as they came under notice.

THE WORK OF THE PRIVATEERS.

On the 16th of March, 1776, the Continental Congress took up the matter of privateering. It was debated at considerable length, and it was not till the 18th of March, that the Congress authorized the use of these vessels. Two of the Colonies, Maryland and Pennsylvania, voted against the measure, but the New England Provinces, New York, Virginia and North Carolina, supported it.

State cruisers had been fitted out previous to this, but the Privateers were later in getting to work, though many were doubtless waiting the opportunity, and when it came, made up by enterprise and daring for the enforced delay.

1776.

The first notice of the sailing of a Privateer from Connecticut, was in September, 1776. The name of this vessel, which is called in the account a Letter-of-Marque, is not given, but she was commanded by Captain Jabez Huntington, of Norwich. It does not seem probable that she was the first private armed ship, or the only one sent out during that year, but the records are so fragmentary, that it has been impossible, as yet, to discover any earlier notice, or even a companion,

1777.

In 1777, the activity in this direction was notably increased. The *Fanny*, owned by Thomas Mumford and others, sailed, and soon sent two prizes into Bedford. The sloop *American Revenue*, under command of Captain Samuel Champlain, took prizes in January and July, sending a large ship, loaded with sugar, into Boston. This was a lucky vessel, and her commanders were numerous. She will be met with frequently in the accounts that follow.

The *Revenge*, a consort of the American Revenue, is first mentioned in May, 1777, when, under Captain Conkling, she took prizes, an English brig, and later a ship of 200 tons, loaded with mahogany and logwood, which she sent into Stonington, September 22. The day this ship arrived in port, the privateer herself was chased into the same harbor by a frigate and schooner, the latter running on Watch Hill reef in the endeavor to cut off the *Revenge*. This schooner was set on fire and blown up by her crew, they being taken aboard of the larger vessel. Both the *Revenge* and American Revenue were from New London.

A Norwich Privateer, the sloop *Phenix*, under command of Captain Wattles, is reported as in from a cruise in April, 1777, having captured a brig from Europe, which she sent into Carolina. Captain Wattles afterward lost her to the British, who carried her into Halifax. One of her lieutenants, William Raymond, was confined in Mill Island prison, and died there. His brother made six privateer voyages out of New London during the revolution, sailing in the *Dean*, Captain Elisha Hinman; the *Putnam*, the *Chatham*, Captain Havens, the *Jay*, Captain Nicoll Fosdick, the *Randolph*, Captain Charles Bulkeley and the *Marshall* Captain Smith, the two last being sloops.

The accounts for 1777 are also meagre, and do not cover the activity of the Privateers for the year. It is to be hoped that the little published will call forth those hidden stores of revolutionary material that will enable the compiler to add to the few items already given.

1778.

This was a more active year, or one in which the records have been better preserved.

In 1778, the *Revenge*, under Captain Joseph Conkling, evidently the same commander who was in charge of her in 1777, is advertised as ready for a cruise, and as was then customary, invited all "gentlemen volunteers who desired to make their fortunes with ease and pleasure" to form part of her crew.

In May, in company with the American Revenue, she took the ship *Lively Lass*, of London, and sent her into Boston. This prize was invoiced at \$125,000. In December, 1778, the *Revenge* is advertised as under the command of Captain William Leeds.

In November, 1778, the *New Broom*, a New London privateer brig, commanded by Captain Bishop, was taken by the British, and carried into New York ; and another privateer brig, the *Favorite*, while on her way from Boston to New London, was cast away on Cape Cod, and lost, the crew being saved.

In the same year, the *Two Brothers*, a sloop commanded by Captain T. Chester, came into port much cut up, having attacked a British transport of much superior force, in latitude 34. The *Two Brothers* had one man killed, and three wounded.

Captain William Coit, commanding the sloop *American*, cruising in the West Indies, took a brig and ship, and carried them into Martinico.

The privateer ship *Putnam* was built on Winthrop Neck, by Goddard, close to the Goddard house, and was advertised in March, 1778 ; Thomas Allen commander. She was built by Nathaniel Shaw, and her first commander was Captain John Harman, who took several valuable prizes. She carried twenty nine-pounders. While under Captain Harman an English frigate drove her into a creek to the eastward and meant to keep her there, but Captain Harman landed one of his guns and mounted it on a point of land where the frigate could be brought in range and opened fire, the position being hid by trees. The frigate answered with her whole broadside, keeping up the fire to the great loss of the trees in branches, but doing no damage to the crew of the gun, which at length cut away some of the frigate's most important rigging. She then raised her blockage of the *Putnam*,

In 1778 a sloop of twelve guns and fifty men, commanded by Captain Nathan Moore, of Groton, with Captain B. Appleton, formerly of New London, also on board, was taken by the frigate *Galatea* and two tenders, after a running fight lasting over five hours, and carried into Jamaica.

The brig *Nancy*, Michael Melally commanding, of sixteen carriage guns, was advertised for sailing in three weeks, March 27, 1778.

In May, 1778, the noted sloop *Beaver* appears on the scene ; she carried twelve three-pounders, and was under the command of Captain Dodge, and was chased into New London by the *Maidstone* frigate, having a narrow escape. In June, she was advertised to sail under command of Captain William Havens. She is one of the vessels that have caused many discrepancies in the

accounts of the time because of the manner of spelling the name. Sometimes she is called the Bever and the next report spells the name Beaver, but they mean one and the same vessel.

May 15, 1778, The Gazette reports the following exploit: "Sunday night last two boats under the command of Captain Ebenezer Dayton and Captain Jason Chester, with twenty-four men in both, went to Long Island and carrying one of the boats across a narrow part of the island at Southampton, they went about sixty miles up the south side of the island to Fire Island Inlet and took possession of five sail of coasting vessels which lay there, laden with lumber, oysters, household furniture, some dry goods, provisions and miscellaneous goods. The prizes were all brought safe into port. Among the prisoners is a British sergeant."

Miss Caulkins, in her history of New London says that "the Continental armed brig Resistance, ten 4 pounders, was fitted out at New London at the suggestion and under the orders of Nathaniel Shaw. She was commanded by Captain Samuel Chew, and most of her officers were New Londoners. On the fourth of March, 1778, in a desperate encounter in the West India seas, with a letter-of-marque carrying 20 guns, Captain Chew and Lieutenant George Champlain, of New London, were killed. The two vessels parted without either winning the victory, and the Resistance was carried into Boston by Lieutenant Leeds. The Resistance was captured by the British in November, 1778, and burnt. It is probable that Miss Caulkins was mistaken in calling the vessel a Continental cruiser. She was most likely, a state vessel, or one of the numerous privateers fitted out by the enterprise of Mr. Shaw. Cooper makes no mention of her, and if she had been a Continental vessel and fought the brilliant action spoken of, he would not have omitted her from his list of regular vessels, and his history.

1779.

1779 was a very active year for Connecticut privateers. Under date of March 5th, The Connecticut Gazette says: "Sunday evening, a brig laden with salt, was captured off this harbor by three privateers, and brought in. The Thursday previous, was brought into Stonington by Captain Dennie, in a small schooner

privateer from Bedford, a sloop called the Refugee, laden with wood and wheat, being one of the fleet which passed this harbor the day before, for Newport. On board the sloop was Thomas Gilbert, Jr., and Bradford Gilbert, (two sons of Col. Gilbert of Freetown, a noted Tory.) On Friday they were brought to this town and committed to goal. It is said these young Gilberts lately piloted a party of the enemy from Newport to Warren.

In our last we mentioned a British privateer being driven ashore at Sachem's Head; from which the captain (Samuel Rogers of Norwalk) and the crew, amounting to thirty-six, were brought here and confined."

Another report of the first occurrence says that in April, the General Sullivan schooner, William Dennis, commanding, took the sloop Refugee, Thomas Gilbert, Jr., commanding. This paragraph is valuable as giving the name of the American vessel and her captain. Not only were the patriots very active this year, but the refugees in New York were also prompt in the matter of fitting out vessels. One of these, a brig named the Ranger, carrying 12 guns had been particularly active in the Sound, and three privateers lying in New London, hearing that she was moored to the wharf in Sag Harbor determined to attack her. They were the brig Middletown, Captain Nathan Sage, the sloops Beaver, Captain William Havens, and the Eagle, Captain Edward Conkling. The attack, which took place on the 31st of January, was successful, and they brought her in triumph to New London. The next day they made a descent on several vessels that had run into the same harbor for refuge, but were unsuccessful, the Middletown grounding and being abandoned to the enemy. Revenge was speedily had, however, for between March 1st and June 13th, nine Tory privateers were captured and brought into New London.

The sloop Eagle, a privateer, Captain Edward Conkling, was cruising in the sound in April, 1779, and there captured a brigantine laden with salt and other prizes. On the 8th of May, while cruising off Point Judith, she took six sail of vessels in succession, all small but one, which had a cargo of West India goods. Manning these vessels reduced the crew to fifteen, while the prisoners were sixteen. The latter watched an opportunity and murdered the whole sloop's crew except two boys. Many of the dead were mangled in a savage manner. The Eagle was then taken into Newport. Captain Conkling's death was much regretted,

as he was a humane and trustworthy man and a brave officer. The six prizes all arrived safe in Stonington. The Eagle was blown up at New York before the end of the month, by the snapping of a pistol near the magazine. Several of the British crew were killed by the explosion, one of them being a man named Murphy, the murderer of Captain Conkling.

Under date of July 8th, 1779. the following items are given:

"On Monday, arrived from a cruise, the privateer schooner Black Snake, Captain Freeborn, of Bedford, with a schooner, her prize, laden with 100 puncheons of rum and other articles, from Jamaica for New York. The evening before Captain Freeborn fell in with them, they made the land back of Long Island, and at 10 o'clock at night, whilst the captain and passengers were asleep in the cabin, the mate and four seamen came in, tied the captain's legs and arms in such a manner that he could not move, and took possession of the vessel, declaring they intended to carry her into Stonington or New London, and kept the vessel before the wind all night steering eastward; but in the morning, the above privateer appearing off Montauk Point, they took to their boat and put ashore, taking her for a British tender, when the privateer bore down and took possession of her.

Tuesday last, the sloop American Revenue sent into Stonington the privateer Sheelar, from New York, together with a schooner laden with tobacco, her prize.

The sloop Natutilus, a prize, was advertised for sale, as was the sloop Sally, late the Wooster, privateer, of New Haven.

The Beaver, W. Havens, commander, was advertised to sail on the 10th of July; and the brig Saratoga, James Munro, commander, mounting sixteen six pounders, was also noticed as fitting out for a cruise against the enemies of the United States.

The Revenge and American Revenue were also very busy during this year. In May, the Revenge is reported as having arrived from a cruise, her commander being Captain Nathaniel Post. In June, 1779, she sent in a prize, the brigantine Neptune, and in August, she brought in the British privateer sloop Mosquito, of fourteen guns, which was immediately fitted and sent out against her former owners. Later, the Revenge arrived home in company with the Argo, Captain Talbot, a Continental sloop, having sent in many prizes. The Revenge and American Revenue carried twelve guns each, three pounders.

The American Revenue was reported to have made a successful cruise early in the year, being then commanded by Captain William Leeds. After this the accounts of her become mixed, one saying that in June, 1779, when again commanded by Captain Samuel Champlain, she was captured by the Unicorn, while another states that her commander was Captain Jagger, and that she was taken by the Greyhound frigate. She was undoubtedly captured and carried into New York, and it seems that the account stating that she was under Captain Champlain's command at the time, is correct, as his return in a flag of truce vessel is noted as occurring late in July, and Angel, Prentis and Gove are reported as reaching home in a like conveyance in August, 1779.

The brig Nancy, in July, 1779, when under the command of Captain William Leeds, was taken by the British frigate Greyhound. In the previous year, under Captain Pinkham, she was reported at Martinico.

On November 25, 1779, Captain Melally is reported in a privateer brig, and as sending in three prizes.

In September, 1779, the Black Snake, privateer, Captain Freeborn, sent into Bedford three prizes taken off Long Island, the first, a lumber laden vessel, the second a letter-of-marque brig, and the third, a sloop from Jamaica.

Near the middle of the month, the Young Cromwell, Captain Wattles, sent in a large sloop laden with lumber, twenty days from Halifax; and the day after the arrival of this prize, the Young Cromwell in company with the Retaliation, Captain Whittlesey, came in with two prizes—the brig Walpole, from Cork, laden with provisions, and a letter-of-marque brig from Boston, George May, late master. She sailed from Boston for the West Indies, and had taken and sent in there a brig laden with tobacco; the people afterwards rose on Captain May, and were bound into New York with the vessel, when being pursued by the above privateers, and also the privateer Eagle, they ran her ashore on the back of Long Island, but she was got off without damage. The same day that these privateers came in, arrived a schooner laden with West India goods, retaken by Captain John Swan, in a letter-of-marque sloop from New London.

September, 1779, seemed to have been quite an active month for New London privateers, for about the 25th and 26th, the Hancock, Beaver, Young Cromwell and Gates returned from a

cruise, during which the *Young Cromwell*, Captain Wattles, took a sloop bound from New Foundland to New York laden with fish and a few casks of wine; and the *Beaver*, a brig bound from New York to Quebec, laden with salt, both prizes arriving safe.

And in this cruise of the *Hancock*, occurred another of those deeds of daring for which the Revolutionary privateersman was noted. On the 8th of September, when in company with the *Venus*, Captain Weldon, and the *Eagle*, Captain Fosdick, and being then under the command of Captain Champlain, a large ship was sighted which was soon made out to be a three decked letter-of-marque, of 20 carriage guns. Yet these small sloops boldly attacked her and engaged her three glasses, when, finding her superior force too much for them, they hauled off with flying colors, the enemy not daring to pursue. In this fight the *Hancock* lost three men, Joseph Starkweather, Palfrey Baker and Jonathan Brown, killed, and had four men wounded. She was also much cut up in her spars and rigging. The *Venus* had two men wounded.

A few days after this action, the *Venus* and *Eagle*, while in company, were driven on shore on Egg Harbor beach by the British frigate *Daphne*, with three smaller vessels in company. The vessels were lost, but their rigging, sails, armament and other stores were saved.

This fight deserves the highest praise, as the combined metal of the privateers was but 108 pounds for both broadsides, while the ship had a battery throwing more than 240 pounds, or 120 pounds per broadside, her guns being of much greater range and force.

In October, 1779, the privateer brig *Defiance*, Captain King, arrived in New London, coming in Monday, the 11th. The Saturday before, the *Defiance* met, and captured off Blue Point, on the south side of Long Island, the transport ship *Badger*, commanded by Edward Flynn. She was under jury masts, and had 122 troops on board. Unfortunately, the next morning, the ship was retaken by a British cruiser, but Captain King had taken out of her four Hessian officers, nine Hessian and twelve British soldiers, and the captain, mate and nine seamen of the *Badger*'s crew, bringing them into port.

On October 12th, 1779, there came into New London a brig from Hispanola, retaken by the *Beaver* and a letter-of-marque

sloop belonging in the Connecticut river, commanded by Captain Joseph Smith, from a cruise in the West Indies.

Many vessels are noted as ready for sailing during this year. The brigantine *Nancy*, of Norwich, 16 six-pounders, the brigantine *Le Despencer*, Captain Michael Mellally, and the brig *Defiance*, Captain Nicoll Fosdick, the *Le Despencer* bringing in two prizes in December. Other privateers sailing from New London during the year were the *Washington*, Captain Deming; *Sally*, Captain Howard; *Experiment*, Captain Sage; *Shelah*, Captain Ezek Hopkins; *The Lively*, Captain Ezek Hopkins, Jr., which took the schooner *Chance* in October, the *Gamecock* and *Neptune*, and the *Cotter*, a vessel captured from the British, and fitted for work against her former owners. The *Young Cromwell* under Captain Wattles, was very successful all through this year, and cooperated with other privateers, the *Retaliation* Captain Whittlesey, being in company when two good prizes were taken.

In March, 1779, the sloop *Beaver*, still commanded by Captain Havens, and in company with the *Hancock*, Captain Elisha Hinman, took the brig *Bellona* off Sandy Hook, laden with West India stores. The *Bellona* was a privateer, of 160 tons, 16 guns. These vessels also took the *Lady Erskine*, a privateer sloop of 10 guns, and several other vessels from a fleet from New York, convoyed by the *Thames* frigate of 36 guns.

Later in the month, while the *Beaver* lay in New London, dismantled for repairs, a British fleet passed the mouth of the river, on their way up the Sound convoyed by a frigate, and three armed tenders of force superior to the privateer. Captain Havens shipped his guns, bent his sails, and gathering between fifty and sixty volunteers, pushed out in pursuit. He succeeded in luring one of the armed vessels to chase him, and when she was near enough for this he suddenly ran out his guns, and came to close action. This lasted but a few minutes, the enemy striking his flag, and the *Beaver* sailed back into the harbor in triumph, in company with her prize, the result of an afternoon's work, and an example of enterprise and spirited courage of which any navy might be proud.

Still in March, 1779, and under Captain Havens, with a schooner commanded by Captain Dennis in company, the *Beaver* captured a schooner near Huntington, Long Island, which they sent into Horse Neck. Shortly after this, the two privateers

were attacked by two large row galleys and the Beaver was driven ashore near the last named place, but was defended by her crew and a few Continental troops, driving the galleys off, the privateer losing four killed, and having several wounded. She was gotten afloat, and in April, sent in several prizes, and in June, others, among them the letter-of-marque sloop Rover, of six guns, a sloop laden with rum and sugar, and the schooner Auctioneer, commanded by Captain Samuel Rogers, of Norwalk, a Royalist, who had been taken and brought into New London once before.

The Beaver also sent in a schooner loaded with lumber, and on June 28th, a sloop of ten guns, said to have been the tender to the Renown, '74, the Hancock taking part in this capture. The Beaver was busy all through the year, sending in prizes during the summer, and being advertised to sail on a cruise under Captain Havens, September 8, 1779.

In February, 1779, the ship Putnam sailed on a cruise, with Nathaniel Saltonstall as captain, and John Chapman as first lieutenant. She was in Boston in June, having taken six prizes. She made another short cruise in the summer, taking several prizes and was then taken into the service of the United States for the Penobscot expedition, in which she was burnt.

She was reputed to be the fastest sailer from New England. Mark Edgar was one of the master mechanics working on her.

The Hancock, so often mentioned in company with the Beaver, was a sloop owned by Thomas Mumford. In June, 1779, when under command of Captain Peter Richards, she captured a privateer schooner carrying twelve guns, named "The Eagle," from New York, and this capture made the ninth New York privateer brought into New London between March 1st and June 13th, 1779. The Eagle was immediately fitted out for a cruise against the British, and soon captured a prize off Huntington. The Eagle was commanded in this cruise by Captain David Brooks.

In July, 1779, the Hancock, commanded by Captain Lodowick Champlain, was so closely pursued by a British frigate that she threw over her guns and sawed down her waist, by this escaping into Boston. In August she was again out on a cruise and captured two schooners and a brig laden with West India goods. Her fight in September in company with the Eagle and Venus, has

been noted, and the name of the Eagle shows that there were two of this name, the one in company in this fight, commanded by Captain Nicoll Fosdick and the one taken from the British by the Hancock, and fitted as an American privateer under command of Captain David Brooks.

1780.

1780 was like 1779, a busy year in Connecticut privateering annals. The incomplete records make all accounts of these fragmentary ; but it is best to gather each item, that others, as they are found, may be added.

Early in May the Young Cromwell sent into New London a sloop with lumber, which she retook as it was going into Sandy Hook. The sloop was one of several prizes captured in Delaware bay by a small privateer from New York. The Young Cromwell was commanded by Captain Wattles.

About the 15th of May the privateers Young Cromwell, Hawk and Sally, brought in the ship Jenny, Captain Hambleton, from Whitby in England, bound to New York. She was about 400 tons burthen, and was loaded with coal, cordage and canvas, an illiterative cargo.

About the same time, the Mifflin, private-armed ship-of-war, and the privateer Pilgrim, sent into Newport, two large ships, one carrying twenty guns and 100 men.

May 26th, it was reported that the Hancock and Bunker Hill, New London privateers and the Holker, a privateer from Philadelphia, had captured a large ship from Barbadoes, laden with 450 hogsheads of rum. The prize was sent into Philadelphia.

During 1780 the Hancock was commanded by Captain Peter Richards.

On the 25th, the Hancock, Experiment and Young Beaver, New London privateers returned from a cruise. Eight days previous, these privateers, in company with the brig Holker, a Philadelphia privateer, fell in with the Artorice, a packet from Falmouth, bound to New York, commanded by Charles Newman, and mounting 20 guns. This ship was near the east point of Sandy Hook, and was run on shore, thus allowing her crew to carry off the mail from England. The prize would have been got off had not a fleet of twenty sail come out of the bay the next morning, and forced the privateers to abandon their prize, after taking out a few articles.

June 1st, the privateer Sally, Captain Warner, came into New London and brought in the brig Cornelia, William Adams, late commander, 17 weeks from Dublin, captured by the Sally and Bunker Hill. Her cargo invoiced \$39,000.

About the 5th of June, the Hancock, commanded by Captain Richards, came in from a cruise bringing in the brig Friendship, William Robinson, late master, laden with Maderia wine, and bound to New York. Two days before, the Sally, Bunker Hill and Experiment, privateers, while cruising off Montauk Point, were chased in by a fast sailing frigate, which was last seen making for another privateer sloop.

This proved to be the privateer Hawke, Captain Olmstead, and she was driven on shore, on the south side of Long Island. The vessel was lost, but the crew got safely on shore, and were soon back in New London, ready for another cruise.

A sloop named the Sally, prize to the Young Cromwell, was advertised for sale June 16th.

On July 14th it was reported that the privateer Retaliation had sent into Saybrook a Virginia built vessel, which she retook off Sandy Hook. She then drove two other vessels ashore on Long Island, and afterward captured a small privateer.

Under date of March 22nd, 1780, it was reported that "last week was sent into Newport, by the letter-of-marque sloop Retaliation, Captain Whittlesey, of Saybrook, a large brig, laden with oats and miscellaneous articles" This vessel sailed from Ireland with a fleet of victuallers for New York, and had been 11 weeks out when captured. Under the same date the privateer brig Le Despencer, Michael Melally commander, from New London, is reported taken by a frigate and carried into New York, but this was a mistake, as in July, 1780, this vessel under Captain Nathaniel Saltonstall, came in from a cruise.

June 23, the brigantine Friendship, the brig Cornelia, mounting six 6 pound and six 12 pound guns, prizes to the Hancock, the brig Thomas and the sloop Recovery, all prizes are advertised for sale.

The Hancock, Captain Richards, had just come in from a cruise and reported meeting Captain John Hopkins in a private armed ship, who reported capturing a letter-of-marque brig mounting 14 guns. The Hancock immediately advertised for another cruise.

A schooner, prize to the American Revenue and Experiment privateers, came in June 20th, and by a small schooner that arrived in Stonington about the same time, coming from Bermuda, it was learned that a letter-of-marque sloop from New London, commanded by Captain Jabez Lord, had been captured and carried into that place by a privateer belonging there. Under the same date, the death of Daniel Starr, a lieutenant in the Continental navy, and sometime captain of a privateer, is noted as taking place in the action between the Trumbull and the Walt.

In July, the privateer schooner Experiment, Captain Hall, put into Fishers Island Sound, from a cruise off Sandy Hook, where he saw six sail of ships of war, which he supposed were British, two of the number, frigates, chasing him as far as Montauk Point.

August 25th, the following is reported : Last Thursday evening, arrived a small schooner, prize to the sloop Hancock, Captain Richards. The privateer ship Deane, Captain Human, from this port, has sent into Boston, a brig from Guernsey bound to New York, laden with brandy, Geneva cordial and miscellaneous goods. Saturday last, a schooner packet of ten 4 pounders, bound from New York to England, with a number of passengers, was chased on shore near Huntington, by the Young Cromwell, Hamlin, and a brig privateer. The people got on shore except two, the vessel was immediately got off, and sent into the Connecticut river. This vessel, it is said, sundry times attempted to get to sea by the Hook, but was as often drove in by American cruisers, and when taken, was attempting to get to sea by the Sound.

Other items for the summer of 1780, were the advertising, as ready for a cruise, of the fast sailing privateer sloop Randolph, Captain Nicoll Fosdick, commander, and the arrival of the Le Despencer, privateer brig, Captain Nathaniel Saltonstall. This was about the 29th of July, and August 4th it was reported that Sunday last, a small privateer schooner mounting six carriage guns, arrived in New London, a prize to the General Washington, Captain Munro, the General Washington being a New London vessel. The British privateer was fitted out in Bermuda, and was one of the infamous Guttridge's fleet. The next Thursday the Washington was chased in by two English frigates, she out-sailing them from the beginning off Rhode Island.

On September the 7th, the sloop Retaliation, Captain Hart returned into New London from a cruise off Sandy Hook. The

Retaliation had recaptured the sloop *Patience*, of Providence, prize to the letter-of-marque ship *Lord Dinsmore*, thirty-two guns, from London to New York ; and a sloop belonging to Nantucket, prize to the *Richmond* frigate. Both of these vessels ran ashore near Montauk Point. Captain Hart afterward captured an armed sloop and two other small craft of like rig, which were under the *Richmond's* convoy, bound from New York to Fire Island Inlet. These got in safe, and the *Richmond* then chased the *Retaliation* in. She reported having seen 100 sail of vessels lying inside of Sandy Hook, supposed to be empty transports waiting a chance to get out, and bound to England.

On September 12th the *Right and Justice*, privateer, Captain Scovel, came into New London with an empty schooner captured when on the way from New York to New Foundland. Captain Scovel also reported a large fleet anchored inside of the Hook. September 14th the *Young Cromwell* was chased in, having made no capture, but the same day the *Hancock* and *Randolph* sent in two privateer sloops, one named the *Hibernia*. Early in October Captain Elisha Dart, in the *Retaliation*, tried his luck near the Hook again, and brought in a sloop which he captured inside of Sandy Hook, near Staten Island, having on board a company of New Jersey volunteers in the British service, consisting of forty-seven officers and men. They were on the way to relieve a guard which the British kept near the Hook.

On the 12th of October the *Right and Justice* came into port with a prize, a sloop laden with rum and miscellaneous goods, bound to New York. The privateer ship *Tracy*, belonging to the eastward, was reported as captured and carried into New York the 17th.

December 4th a small schooner privateer, fitted from Philadelphia and commanded by a Captain House, came into New London, bringing in as a prize a schooner from Madeira loaded with 108 pipes of wine, which he had captured near Sandy Hook, and also a pilot boat sent out to pilot the schooner in. The Philadelphia privateer had but nineteen men, and yet dared to seek prizes where the warships of the enemy were continually passing, and did this successfully, as did many of Connecticut's privateers.

In February, 1780, the privateer ship *Recovery*, of New London, Captain Samuel Smedley, is advertised as ready for sea, and in noticing an order of Admiral Rodney, sending officers captured

in privateer vessels to England, it is reported that Captain Smedley, of New London, is one of the number sent there under its provisions.

Regarding the ship *Recovery*, as previously noted, a report of February 15, 1780, says that Captain Smedley had been detained in the harbor because of its being frozen over, and it also states that her crew had been detained at Fairfield, but now, as the vessel could get out, all officers and men are warned to appear on board.

Under date of July 8, 1780, *The Gazette* says: "Last Saturday, returned into port the privateers *Revenge*, *Washington* and *Gates*, and brought into port the ship *Otter*, Captain Forbes, from Liverpool bound to New York, eighteen weeks out, which they captured near Sandy Hook. She has a cargo of very useful articles, amounting to 3,000 pounds sterling."

The year 1780 also saw the last work of the *Beaver*, as she was captured by the British in March and carried into New York.

1781.

This was also an important year for the Connecticut privateers, but the reports are not so full as those for 1779 and 1780. It was not always the large vessels that showed the most daring, but they were not backward when victory seemed possible, as the following evidences:

"Saturday, the privateer brig *Samson*, Captain Brooks, returned into port from a cruise. On the Tuesday preceding, he fell in with the British sloop-of-war *Swallow*, and engaged her three glasses, silenced most of her guns, and in all probability must have captured her, but a brig at this time bearing down upon them, which Captain Brooks thought to be consort to the *Swallow*, he quitted her, having in the engagement had two men killed and ten wounded."

That a privateer brig should engage, and nearly capture a sloop of war in sight of her consort, fighting her for a long time, is a matter of astonishment, for the national vessels of Great Britain were thoroughly armed, while the light guns with which the privateers were forced to be content, made such an enterprise one of danger, and one that usually would only be entered upon when necessity forced it. Yet this New London brig sought the

conflict, and won a victory whose fruits she, unfortunately, could not reap. Chronicled with this act, is another that shows equal hardihood.

"Sunday, the brig *Favorite*, Captain Budington, arrived from a cruise. She brought in eighteen prisoners, which he took out of different boats near Sandy Hook; he also brought in four Americans, which he took out of a transport that had part of the garrison of Pensacola on board. The transport had been in possession of two privateers from Philadelphia, but she was soon afterwards met by a British cruiser, who took out all of the Americans except the four mentioned. The transport was near in with the Hook when met by Captain Budington. Captain Budington spoke the sloop *Success*, Captain J. Hopkins, on the 25 ult. All well."

It must be remembered that New York was then in possession of the British, that the armed vessels of the greatest naval power of the earth thronged the seas, and that they were continually passing in and out of the harbor of New York, and consequently by Sandy Hook; yet with all these facts well known, a New London privateer captain carried his vessel to this dangerous locality, and, cruising there, made prizes and captured prisoners almost in sight of the most powerful fleet that sailed the seas.

And yet another item follows under the same date as the two preceding, which says:

"Tuesday the *Young Cromwell*, privateer, Captain Reed, carrying ten three-pounders and thirty-eight men, returned from a short cruise and brought in a privateer of eight four-pounders and one twelve-pounder in the bow, and had forty-eight men. She was only two days out from Sandy Hook, called the *Surprise*."

The disparity of metal and men shown by the American vessel is marked. Ten three-pounders gave her thirty pounds of metal per broadside, while her opponent had forty-four, and ten more men, and yet the *Surprise* sailed into New London as a prize to the *Young Cromwell*.

The account from which these items is taken goes on: "Wednesday arrived the letter-of-marque sloop *Stanton*, Captain Tim. Starr, in thirty-one days from Gaudalupe. Captain Starr, near Nantucket, fell in with a brig called the *Agnes*, which sailed from Gibraltar about the 1st of May, with a number of Jews for England, but was taken by the privateer *Junius Brutus*, from Salem; afterwards retaken by the *Hornet*, a British sloop of war,

who ordered her for New York, but being met by the Hamlin, was again taken; she is about 300 tons burden, laden with coal, cordage, duck, etc.

"The privateer ship Hunter, Nathan Sage commanding, the new letter-of-marque ship Fortune, Henry Billings commander, to cruise five weeks during her passage to Hispaniola and France; the Black Sloven galley, formerly the Hornet, George House commander, in company with the Rainbow galley and the brigantine Fair American, Samuel Champlain commander, of sixteen four-pounders," are all noted as soon to sail on cruises, the account being dated August 3, 1781.

But one other item remains, and this is the most important of any, as far as New London is concerned. It is as follows: "Tuesday evening the brig Minerva, Captain Dudley Saltonstall, returned into port and brought the letter-of-marque ship Hannah, Captain Watson, of sixteen six-pounders, nine weeks from London, bound to New York, which he captured on Sunday last, after an engagement of two glasses. This prize is said to be the most valuable of any taken on the coast during the present war, her cargo being estimated at upwards of 80,000 sterling."

In connection with this prize, and the results that followed, the following letter is important:

Boston, May 28, 1781.

Sir—The private arm'd Brig. Minerva, mounted with sixteen six pounders, which you are commissioned to command on a cruise against the enemies of the United States of America, being now completely equip'd and ready for sea, you will embrace the first favorable wind to get out, taking every proper precaution to avoid the British fleet, should they be off your port as heretofore.

Your cruising ground we leave the choice of to you, only would observe that it is our wish you should not cruise off either N. York or Charlestown, the danger appearing much greater than the prospect of advantages in that quarter. If you are fortunate eno' to take any prizes you will order them into this port. Should they by distress of weather arrive at any out port, you will direct the prize master's to give me information by express of their situation, and follow such directions as I may think best for our interests with respect to such prize.

With my best wishes for your success, victory and safety, I

am in behalf of the Owners of Five Eights of the s'd Brig Minerva. Your most affectionate Friend and Brother,

ADAM BABCOCK.

P. S.—On coming home off your cruise I would advise you to keep well to the eastward, so as to come in through the Vineyard Sound, when you can get the needed information of the situation of the British Fleet. As soon as you get to New London you will lose no time in clearing the vessel for a second trip.

Once more sincerely yours,

A. B.

DUDLEY SALTONSTALL, Esq.

Command'r of the private arm'd Brig. Minerva, laying at New London."

This was the letter that sent the Minerva to sea, and it was during the cruise that followed that she captured the Hannah. The merchants of London and the royalists doing business in New York had long been exasperated by their loss of property, and the latter now clamored so loudly for relief, that it was determined to punish the place causing the trouble. And New London had been a thorn in the side of the British from the commencement of hostilities, as the items given, a few only of the many that the seven years' struggle accumulated, show. The attack of Arnold, the burning of the town, and the tragedy in Fort Griswold, coming so closely after the capture of the Hannah and the consequent outcry, seem to show a connection between the events. The fact that the expedition destroyed the town, and immediately evacuated it, goes to disprove the assumption that Arnold's diversion was made to draw Washington from Cornwallis and Yorktown, for had it been so intended, a longer stay in the captured place was needed. The same post that told of the burning of New London, carried the news of the retreat of the enemy, and took from the expedition any importance other than that of reprisal. And this is, perhaps, the most logical deduction, and the one that is most in accord with the course of events.

If, therefore, the capture of the Hannah stimulated Sir Henry Clinton to action, and inspired the expedition of Arnold, the letter quoted played an important part in that flame and blood filled episode, and even if this is not the true state of the case, though now the balance is certainly in its favor, the letter is interesting as an echo of the enterprise of the times and the results that followed.

It is to be noted that the vessels were equal in armament, and that the victory was won after a stubborn contest, so that the seamen of New London showed their spirit and enterprise in thus attacking and capturing a large and equally well-armed craft.

Under date of Friday, August 31, 1781, it is reported the Rainbow galley, Captain Brown, captured in sight of Sandy Hook lighthouse, and Sir Samuel Hood's fleet of seventeen sail of the line, a brig carrying more than six guns and a large cargo, and brought her safely into New London. In the same paper the following advertisement appears:

NEW LONDON, August 29, 1781.

The brigantine *Minerva*, mounting sixteen six-pounders, commanded by Captain James Angel, will sail on a cruise this day week. All gentlemen, seamen or landsmen, who are desirous of making their fortunes, may meet suitable encouragement by repairing on board said brig, or applying to Ichabod Powers' tavern at Deshon's wharf, the place of rendezvous.

Captain Angel had been in command of the *Minerva* in the early part of the year, as the following document shows:

"Know all by these presents, that we, the Subscribers, putting our trust and confidence in our well beloved Friend, Dudley Saltonstall, Esqr., of New London, in the County of New London, and state of Connecticut, to be our Lawfull Attorney, and in our Name to ask, demand, Recover and receive of and from all and every Person or Persons whomsoever it may concern, our one half of all The Prize or Prizes Captured by the Brig *Minerva* on her Present Cruise, now Commanded by James Angel, and for him to receive same and keep in Custody untill demanded by the undermentioned Subscribers, their Ex'trs, Adm'str or Assigns, for their one-half of Said Prize or Prizes, or for each one's share or dividend of the same, as they are proportioned by the Articles and Allowed by the Captain and officers.—Dated on board Brig *Minerva*, Febr. 13, 1781. James Angel, Joseph Marshall, Wilson Jacobs, Irad Sanborn, Henry Babcock, Robert Colfax, Jonathan Colfax, Herve Pirion, Thomas Warren, Thomas Lillibridge, Ebenezer Talbot, John Oldham, Archibald Robertson, Willi Ross, Aborn Thornton, Samuel Chipman, James Lockwood, William Crawford, Jesse McCabe, Joseph Baldwin, Joseph Woodworth, Robert McKee, John Baker, John Almy, Benjamin Scott, William

Walton, Stephen Sherry, Toby Richards, Nathaniel Jacobs, John King, John Taylor, Ezra Caghaman, Asa Winter, Christopher Thornton, John Colfax, Amherst Crandel, Daniel Scranton, William Selocum, Stephen Tench, Sylvester Marcy, John Watts, Manuel Lewis, Shem Cambridge, William Lloyd, William McCarthy, William Wilkison."

During this cruise, the *Minerva* captured a brig called the *Rose*.

An item published in *Green's Connecticut Gazette* for November 30, 1781, is very interesting, showing, as it does, the vicissitudes of a vessel in those days. It says:

"The vessel mentioned in our last to have run ashore on Block Island, proves to be a ship of about 400 tons, which sailed from the Chesapeake, bound for Europe, laden with naval stores, indigo and tobacco. She was taken by a British cruiser, who ordered her for England, but she was soon after retaken by a Salem privateer. Then she was again captured by the same British cruiser who had first taken her, and this vessel leaving a number of Americans on board, they again captured her from her prize crew, and in running in for the land in a gale of wind last Saturday night was a week, they ran on Block Island, where the vessel is lost, but her rigging, guns and part of her cargo is saved. Several small vessels from the main have loaded from the wreck."

Under the same date, the prize sloop, *Colonel Martin*, of 90 tons, is advertised for sale, and the privateer brig, *Lady Greene*, Joseph Swift, commander, mounting 14 carriage guns, is advertised to sail for a four months' cruise to the West Indies the first of the week, beginning Dec. 1st, 1781.

This shows that the burning of the place by Arnold's troops, did not have the effect desired. The people of New London were too enterprising to allow idleness to follow disaster; with their accustomed spirit they began again their war on the commerce of Great Britain, and their privateers were soon flaunting their flag in the faces of their foes.

The two last privateers of which there is record, are the schooner *Eliza*, which settled for a prize in 1782, and the brig *Marquis De La Fayette*. Their crew lists have been preserved, and are interesting, as showing the prevalence of Connecticut, and

specially of New London County names. The *Eliza* was commanded by Captain William Leeds; Benjamin Hillyard was lieutenant; Bransford Rose, master; Christopher Latham, boatswain; Joseph Rose, gunner; Benjamin Stark and Joseph Webb, mates; Christopher Thornton and John Rogers, prize masters; Richard Parker, carpenter; Fall Coit, steward; John Newson, David Baldwin, Thomas Warren, Thomas Morgan, Robert Harris, John Burros, Robert Hicks, James Potter, Joseph Bradley, Phineas Barker, Richard Paul, Valentine Rennolds, Isaac Norton, John Gard, Nathaniel Coggeshall, John Ennis, T. Barns, seamen; and John Gavit, boy.

The Marquis De La Fayette was commanded by Elisha Hiuman, a captain in the Continental navy. Thomas Edgar was first mate, and Richard Law second mate. These officers were on the *Trumbull*, Continental frigate, in her celebrated battle with the *Watt*; Daniel Johnson, boatswain; William McNeill, gunner; Ahimaaz Heberd, carpenter; Thomas Rogers, Jr., cooper; Nathan Smith, Amos ———, Eli Widger, Joshua Ripley, Andrew Rogers, Nehemiah Palmer, Elijah Palmer, Samuel Ellis, Jr., John Magee, Abraham Oppson, Stephen Mills, Shubael Wales, John Ormsby, James Feroro, Nathan Allen, Abner Brown and John Williams, seamen; Benjamin Low, Isaac Tracy, David Sampson and Ebenezer Root, hull seamen (ordinary seamen); Amos Babcock and William Miller, landsmen.

This vessel was apparently the last of the Connecticut revolutionary privateers, making a trip to Europe just at the close of hostilities, and going out of commission August 13, 1783.

The fragmentary state of these records can best be understood when the following list of vessels, with their rate, number of guns and men, is read. And it should be remembered that this is not a full list, as there were doubtless many craft employed in this service, that were not mentioned in any report or newspaper, whose services and exploits must forever remain unknown.

A PARTIAL LIST
OF THE
PRIVATEERS FITTED OUT IN CONNECTICUT
DURING THE
REVOLUTION, 1775-1783.

NAME OF VESSEL.	Class.	NAME OF COMMANDER.	No. of guns.	No. of crew.
Active	Sloop.	Charles Bulkley.	10	60
Adventure	Galley.	S. Smith.	6	30
Adams	Sloop.	E. Bebee.	14	80
America	Sloop.	William Coit.	....	....
American Revenue.....	Sloop.	{ Samuel Champlain. }	12	100
		{ William Leeds. }		
Banger	Sloop.	— Jagger.	4	30
		Joseph Smith.		
Beaver	Sloop.	{ Daniel Scovel. }	12	65
		{ William Havens. }		
		— Dodge.		
Betsey.....	Sloop.	E. Brown.	9	20
Black Princess.....	Scow.	H. Crary.	10	12
Black Snake	Sloop.	— Freeborn.	..	....
Black Sloven.....	Galley.	{ George House. }	1	25
		{ J. Young. }		
Broom	Sloop.	William Nott.	10	70
Brilliant.....	Sloop.	W. Wright.	6	40
Bunker Hill.....	Schooner.	S. Thompson.	10	45
Cato	Ship.	D. Tappan.	12	50
Chatham	Ship.	Joseph Smith.	16	35
Chatham	Boat.	J. Griffith.	..	10
Chatham	Sloop.	William Havens.	...	..
Comet	Sloop.	William Wattles.	6	...
Connecticut	Sloop.	C. Tucker.	8	25
Cotter .....	.....	.....	...	....
Count De Grasse .....	.....	E. Stratton.	2	30
Crane	Galley.	Jehial Tinker.	3	50
Dandy.....	Brig.	George House.	12	30
Dean.....	Brig.	Daniel Scovel.	18	100
Dean.....	Brig.	Noah Schofield.	20	...
Deane.....	Ship.	Elisha Hinman.	29	150
Defence	Ship.	Samuel Smedley.	20	100
Defiance	Sloop.	Thomas Parke.	8	20

CONNECTICUT PRIVATEERS — *Continued.*

NAME OF VESSEL.	Class.	NAME OF COMMANDER.	No of guns.	No. of crew.
Defiance.....	Brig.	{ Thomas King. }	12	70
Diana.....	Brig.	{ Nicoll Fosdick. }	6	15
Dolphin.....	Sloop.	Seth Harding.	6	20
Dolphin.....	Sloop.	J. Phelps.	10	15
Eagle.....	Schooner.	Azariah Burnham.	10	45
Eagle.....	Sloop.	{ Nicoll Fosdick. }	6	50
Elizabeth.....	Schooner.	{ David Brooks. }	6	12
Enterprise.....	Galley.	Edward Conkling.	1	25
Experiment.....	Schooner.	N. Clark.	12	40
Eliza.....	Schooner.	George House.	..	..
Fair American.....	Brig.	{ J. Bulkeley. }	14	90
Fair Play.....	Schooner.	{ Nathan Sage. }	..	12
Farmer.....	Sloop.	{ Giles Hall. }	4	12
Favorite.....	Sloop.	William Leeds.	..	..
Favorite.....	Brig.	Samuel Champlain.	..	..
Fire Brand.....	Brig.	E. Drake.	..	..
Fire Brand.....	Boat.	E. Egelston.	..	..
Fly.....	Sloop.	— Buddington.	..	..
Fortune.....	Ship.	A. Johnson.	16	60
Fortune.....	Schooner.	H. Nicholas.	1	10
Fox.....	Boat.	Z. Jennings.	5	6
Freedom.....	Sloop.	Henry Billings.	20	..
Freedom.....	Schooner.	A. Palmer.	2	10
Game Cock.....	Schooner.	A. Woodhull.	1	10
Game Cock.....	Schooner.	Thomas Parke.	4	18
Gen. Greene.....	Brig.	S. Brainard.	12	60
Gen. Herkimer.....	Brig.	D. Roberts.	4	30
Gen. McDongall.....	Ship.	S. Thompson.	6	16
Gen. Putnam.....	Ship.	G. Olmstead.	16	100
Gen. Putnam.....	Ship.	S. Perkins.	4	12
Gen. Putnam.....	Ship.	J. Janncey.	10	30
Gen. Putnam.....	Ship.	{ Thomas Allon. }	20	150
Gen. Putnam.....	Ship.	{ Wilham Allen. }	..	..
Gen. Putnam.....	Ship.	{ John Harman. }	6	20
Gen. Putnam.....	Ship.	{ Nathaniel Saltonstall }	..	..
Gen. Putnam.....	Ship.	J. Creiger.	..	..
Gen. Stark.....	Sloop.	Ebenezer Peck.	6	20
Gen. Sullivan.....	Sloop.	William Dennis.	..	..
Gen. Washington.....	Sloop.	J. Jauncey.	6	20
Gen. Washington.....	Brig.	{ R. Rodgers. }	18	130
Gov. Trumbull.....	Sh p.	{ James Munro. }	20	150
Gull.....	Schooner.	{ Henry Billings. }	6	10
Haulin.....	Ship.	{ Dudley Saltonstall. }	12	55
Haulin.....	Sloop.	W. Bunts.	6	12
Hampton Packet.....	Sloop.	David Brooks.	8	30
Hancock.....	Sloop.	Timothy Starr.	10	80
Hancock.....	Brig.	{ T. Markham. }	18	110
Hancock.....	Brig.	{ — Tobey. }	16	90
Hancock.....	Brig.	Thomas Chester.	..	..
Hancock.....	Brig.	{ Peter Richards. }	..	..
Hancock.....	Brig.	{ Elisha Hinman. }	..	..
Hancock.....	Brig.	Lodowick Champlain.	..	..

CONNECTICUT PRIVATEERS — *Continued.*

NAME OF VESSEL.	Class.	NAME OF COMMANDER.	No. of guns.	No. of crew.
Hancock.....	Brig.	Hezekiah Perkins.	8	16
Harlequin.....	Sloop.	S. Doane.	6	25
Hawk.....	Boat.	E. Jones.	1	10
Hawk.....	Sloop.	G. Olmstead.	12	60
Hermoine.....	Sloop.	John Hopkins.	8	25
Hero.....	Sloop.	P. Filer.	2	16
Hero.....	Sloop.	J. Riley.	6	40
Hetty.....	Brig.	D. Ships.	8	35
Hibernia.....	Sloop.	Samuel Smedley.	10	50
Hornet.....	Boat.	Charles Jencks.	....	....
Humbird.....	Schooner.	J. Lewis.	2	10
Humbird.....	Schooner.	O. Goodrich.	4	20
Humbird.....	Schooner.	D. Griffin.	4	7
Hunter.....	Ship.	Nathan Sage.	18	100
Hunter.....	Ship.	Joseph Smith.	19	100
Hunter.....	Ship.	O. Short.	10	15
Independence.....	Schooner.	J. Combs.	4	15
Industry.....	Sloop.	J. Saulsbury.	2	14
Jason.....	Brig.	{ S. Stillman. }	10	25
Jay.....	Brig.	{ Moses Tryon. }	14	80
Jay.....	Boat.	William Havens.	1	10
John.....	Boat.	E. Jones.	1	6
John.....	Galley.	B. Conkling.	4	25
John.....	Galley.	J. Alden.	1	35
John Michael.....	Sloop.	P. Brown.	....	....
Juno.....	Galley.	P. Church.	1	24
Lady Greene.....	Sloop.	O. Norris.	....	....
Lady Spencer.....	Sloop.	Joseph Swift.	....	....
Lash.....	Sloop.	Michael Melally.	10	15
Le Despencer.....	Brig.	T. Newson.	16	100
Lee.....	Schooner.	{ Nathan'l Saltonstall. }	10	14
Lion.....	Galley.	{ Michael Melally. }	2	30
Lively.....	Sloop.	John Hopkins.	14	70
Luey.....	Sloop.	{ E. Latham. }	4	20
Lyd a.....	Sloop.	{ Ezek Hopkins, Jr. }	4	15
Lyon.....	Sloop.	T. Sallow.	10	80
Marquis De La Fayette..	Brig.	J. Williams.	16	120
Marquis De La Fayette..	Brig.	T. Shaler.	16	100
Mars.....	Ship.	Peter Richards.	22	130
Maria.....	Sloop.	Elisha Hinman.	8	30
Marshall.....	Brig.	G. Ash.	14	80
Martial.....	Brig.	Hezekiah Perkins.	16	85
Mary.....	Sloop.	{ Charles Bulkley. }	16	85
Mary Ann.....	Brig.	{ Joseph Smith. }	6	32
Mentor.....	Schooner.	N. Post.	2	10
Mercury.....	Ship.	G. Mansfield.	10	45
Mercury.....	Sloop.	W. Packwood.	10	40
Middletown.....	Brig.	A. Benton.	16	100
		J. Horand.		
		{ Elisha Lathrop. }		
		{ Jabes Lord. }		
		Nathan Sage.		

CONNECTICUT PRIVATEERS — *Continued.*

NAME OF VESSEL.	Class.	NAME OF COMMANDER.	No. of guns.	No. of crew.
Middletown.....	Brig.	W. Dursen.	6	1
Mifflin				
Minerva.....	Brig.	{ Giles Hall. }	16	100
Minerva	Brig.	{ Dndley Saltonstl. }	16	120
Morgan		James Angel.		
Nancy.....	Sloop.	W. Briggs.		15
Nancy.....	Brig.	{ Michael Melally. }	16	100
		{ William Leeds. }		
		{ ——— Pinkham. }		
Nancy.....	Brig.	R. Bethel.	4	10
Neptune.....	Brig.	Azariah Whittlesey.	4	15
New Broom.....	Brig.	Israel Bishop.		
Old Defence	Brig.	Daniel Deshon.	14	80
Olive.....	Sloop.	William Loring.	8	12
Phenix.....	Sloop.	William Wattles.	14	25
Pilgrim.....	Brig.	H. Crary.	16	90
Polly.....	Sloop.	E. Roberts.	12	100
Princess Mary.....	Sloop.	E. Pratt.	7	26
Providence.....	Boat.	Israel Stoddard.		
Prudence.....	Sloop.	Timothy Parker.	10	45
Rainbow.....	Galley.	{ P. House. }	2	30
		{ A. Meach. }		
Ranger	Brig.	Ehsha Lathrop.	2	10
Ranger	Brig.	A. Riley.	14	20
Randolph.....	Sloop.	{ Charles Bulkley. }	18	90
		{ Nicoll Fosdick. }		
		{ A. Peck. }		
Rebach	Sloop.	Daniel Phipps.	6	36
Recovery.....	Ship.	Samuel Smedley.	16	120
Regulator.....		S. Overton.	4	16
Resistance.	Brig.	Samuel Chew.		
Restoration	Brig.	P. Eldred.	10	20
Restoration	Sloop.	E. Hart.		
		{ Giles Hall. }		
		{ William Havens. }		
Retaliation.....	Sloop.	{ E. Hart. }	12	60
		{ Azariah Whittlesey. }		
		{ Elisha Dart. }		
Revenge	Sloop.	{ Nathaniel Post. }	12	80
		{ Joseph Conkling. }		
Revenge.....	Sloop.	Bartholomew Deane.	8	64
Revenge.....	Brig.	Joseph Conkling.	6	14
Right Hand... ..	Sloop.	{ Lodowick Champlain }	5	15
		{ A. Palmer. }		
Richard.....	Sloop.	Joseph Conkling.	6	14
Right and Justice.....	Sloop.	Daniel Scovel.	8	30
Roumpee.....	Galley.	J. Wilkinson.	1	12
Sally.....	Sloop.	{ S. Warner. }	14	50
		{ ——— Howard. }		
Sally.....	Schooner.	{ J. Dodge. }	2	10
		{ ——— Howard. }		
Sally.....	Brig.	Israel Bishop.	6	12

CONNECTICUT PRIVATEERS — *Concluded.*

NAME OF VESSEL.	Class.	NAME OF COMMANDER.	No. of guns.	No. of crew.
Samson	Brig.	David Brooks.	18	110
Samuel	Brig.	Elisha Lathrop.	4	15
Sarah	Sloop.	A. Connerais.	8	20
Saratoga	Boat.	E. Jones.	1	10
Saratoga	Brig.	James Munro.	16	....
Saucy Queen	Schooner.	S. Miller.	6	10
Scourge	Ship.	Timothy Parker.	20	150
Shark .....	.....	S. Stanton.	2	50
Shelah .....	.....	Ezek Hopkins, Jr.	....	....
Shelally	Galley.	E. Hatch.	2	35
Snake	Sloop.	A. Riley.	4	20
Spy	Boat.	J. Squire.	1	10
Spy	Schooner.	Robert Niles.	6	30
Suffolk	Boat.	Ebenezer Dayton.	2	7
Swallow	Schooner.	J. Hoovey.	10	60
Swift	Galley.	T. Keys.	2	14
Tartar	Schooner	T. Fitch.	4	20
Terror	Schooner.	J. Parks.	4	12
Thetis	Brig.	William Wattles.	6	20
Thomas	Brig.	Elisha Lathrop.	4	15
Tiger	Sloop.	E. Jones.	2	36
Trumbull	Sloop.	Henry Billings.	10	50
Turn of Times	Schooner.	W. Reed.	4	25
Two Brothers	Sloop.	Thomas Chester.	....	....
Un ty	Brig.	A. Burnstram.	8	20
Vengeance	Sloop.	William Dennis.	18	80
Venus	Brig.	{ Joseph Conkling. }	10	60
Viper	Schooner.	—— Weldon. }	6	50
Volante	Sloop.	—— Daniel.	....	....
Warren	Schooner.	{ E. Adams. }	14	50
Warren	Schooner.	{ Thompson Phillips. }	16	50
Warren	Schooner.	{ J. Coalston. }	8	20
Washington	Schooner.	{ D. Thorndike. }	22	80
Washington	Brig.	—— Coas.	....	....
Washington .....	.....	—— Odiorne.	....	....
Washington .....	.....	{ E. Smith. }	14	40
Washington	Schooner.	—— Deming. }	12	40
Weazel	Sloop.	J. Rowe.	12	40
Whim	Brig.	Gilbert Fanning.	10	80
Wooster	Sloop.	Joseph Conkling.	10	60
Wooster	Sloop.	John McCleave.	6	10
Yark	Sloop.	Ebenezer Peck.	10	45
Young Cromwell.. ..	Sloop.	T. Perkins.	12	45
Young Cromwell.. ..	Brig.	W. Reed.	4	25
Young Cromwell.. ..	.....	{ William Wattles. }	12	45
Young Cromwell.. ..	.....	—— Hilliard. }	12	45
Young Cromwell.. ..	.....	—— Buddington. }	12	45
Young Cromwell.. ..	Schooner.	J. Cook.	12	45
Young Lyon	Galley.	B. Vail.	4	25

The basis of this list is the one given in the work on the "Navy of the United States from 1775 to 1853," by Lieutenant, afterwards Rear Admiral George F. Emmons, U. S. N. It contains a total of 202 vessels, carrying 1609 guns, and 7754 men. That it is incomplete, even in its amended state, is to be supposed, the excitement and exigencies of the time making an authentic record impossible. That many vessels were not noted, and that the number of guns and of men employed was much larger, is, therefore, beyond question. And the list also shows that many vessels of the same name, though differing in class, and mentioned as two or more, are identical, a change in the number of men and guns, being the only foundation for supposing them otherwise. This change, however, is no guide, as a new commander might add to or take from the battery of a vessel, according to his judgment of the requirements of the case, and thus necessitate a change in the number of the crew. And in the hurried reports of the time, the classification was not closely attended to. Thus it is highly probable that there was but one vessel named the "Young Cromwell," though the list gives three, and classes them as a sloop, brig and a schooner. So, too, with the Dolphin, Eagle, Game Cock, Hancock, Humbird, John, Marquis De La Fayette, Middletown, Nancy, Ranger, Revenge, and several others. Other cause of confusion is found in the different spelling, the Beaver often appearing as the Bever, and the Gen. Putnam is mentioned much more frequently as the Putnam in the records of the day, than by the list name. It is but just to suppose that the name most in use, was the correct one. The Gov. Trumbull also appears as the Trumbull, and caused Cooper to make a mistake in his history of the United States Navy; and it would seem that while there may have been and most assuredly was a sloop named the Trumbull, that Billings' command of the ship has caused his name to be erroneously connected with the smaller vessel. The list, even though incomplete and with the inaccuracies noted, is valuable and interesting, for it shows a spirit of patriotism and enterprise that does honor to the state of Connecticut.

While the list of commanders is more full than that of vessels, others who had charge of different craft, have been recorded, and are here given.

COMMANDERS THE NAMES OF WHOSE VESSELS ARE UNKNOWN.

B. Appleton, Jason Chester, Jabes Huntington, ——— Hawley, Joseph Higgins, Nathan Peet Jackson, Nathan Moore, ——— McGee, Jesse Wicks, Abraham Wright, ——— Dennie, Ebenezer Lester, Nathan Perkins, Jeremiah Halsey, Ransford Rose, Jabez Perkins, John Swan, William Rogers, Richard McCarthy, James Rogers.

NOTE.—Vessels advertised to be sold at public vendue in *The Gazette* of June 3, 1779.

The fast sailing letter-of-marque brig *Bellona*, 160 tons, 16 guns; the schooner *Mulberry*, 70 tons, improved for a privateer: the sloop *Charlotte*, 60 tons; and the privateer sloop *Lady Erskine*, 60 tons, 10 guns, with nine other cannon and swivels, small arms, cutlasses, cannon ball, powder and musket ball, prizes to the *Beaver* and *Hancock*. Also the privateer schooner *Sally*, 50 tons, 8 guns, and the sloop *Despatch*, 50 tons, 8 swivels, and the schooner *Polly*, 40 tons, prizes to the American Revenue.

Also the sloop *Three Friends*, 90 tons; sloop *Phebe*, 45 tons; and sloop *John*, 30 tons, with their cargoes, captors not named.

This is one of many such advertisements appearing in *The Gazette* during 1778, '79, '80 and '81.

THE STATE VESSELS OF CONNECTICUT

DURING THE REVOLUTION.

The state of Connecticut was among the first to recognize the usefulness of a regular naval force, and in July, 1775, the legislature ordered that two vessels should be bought and fitted for cruising. The *Minerva*, a brig of 108 tons, owned by Captain William Griswold, of Wethersfield, was chartered under this order, with the understanding, no doubt, that if found of use, she would be purchased. The charter price was £21, 12s. per month. The list of her officers was :

Captain, Giles Hall, of Wallingford.

First Lieutenant, Thomas Horsey, Derby.

Second Lieutenant, Jehiel Tinker.

Master, William Plummet.

Mate, William Warner.

Gunner, Benjamin Cranston.

Steward, Timothy Larrabee.

She was to have a crew, of forty seamen and forty marines, and her captain was to receive £7 per month. Mr. Horsey declined his appointment. James Hopkins was commissioned first lieutenant and later Jehiel Tinker was succeeded as second lieutenant by Thompson Phillips, and Andrew Johnnot, of Middletown, became steward.

The vessel was ready for sea in October, 1775, provisioned for a six months' cruise. She was ordered to be ready to sail on an important expedition to the northward, which had been planned by Congress, but the place wisely kept secret, a rule that was not followed in other cases, and whose relaxation brought disaster. It seems that the state, recognizing the benefit of a

central power, had placed its vessel at the disposition of Congress. While waiting for instructions, and still anchored in the Connecticut river, the crew mutinied and left her, and the expedition failed. What the cause of trouble was, does not appear, but she was not used for state service again, Captain Hall, in December, being ordered to dismantle her, sail her to Rocky Hill and turn her over to her owner. The next year, £125 12s. were allowed Captain Griswold for the use of the vessel. Later the *Minerva* appears as a successful privateer.

The second vessel to be fitted out under the resolution of the legislature was the sloop *Spy*. She was placed in service under a vote to charter a small vessel to be used chiefly as a spy, to run from place to place to carry intelligence, discover the enemy, and perform such other services as would be useful to the state and country.

Instead of chartering a vessel the committee, Benjamin Huntington and John Deshon, purchased a sloop named the *Britannia*, belonging to a Mr. Hancox of Stonington, paying £200 for her. This was in August, 1775, and she was fitted out with speed under the superintendence of Captain Robert Niles of Norwich, who was appointed to the command. His commission, signed by Governor Trumbull, is dated August 7, 1775. Her name was changed to the *Spy*, and she was to carry twenty men, the seamen to be paid 40 and 48 shillings per month.

On the 30th of May, 1776, the *Spy* was chased into New London by the *Cerberus* frigate, which pursued her to the Race, the *Spy* losing her topmast. In June of the same year she took the *Hannah* and *Elizabeth*, a Bristol schooner, and sent her into Newport. This vessel was brought round to Norwich, and fitted and sent out as a Colony cruiser. In October the *Spy* captured a vessel named the *Barron*.

Early in 1777, the *Spy* was sent to Maryland for flour. September 10th of this year, she captured a fine sloop of 80 tons, taken on the Long Island shore, laden with wood. This vessel was purchased by the state, named the *Dolphin*, and fitted for a cruise, and being a better vessel than the *Spy*, Captain Niles was transferred to her.

The *Spy* was next commanded by Lieut. Zebediah Smith, of

Norwich, and in May or June, 1778, in company with the *Dolphin*, sailed to the West Indies as an armed merchant vessel, carrying a cargo of staves and hoops.

The next item concerning this vessel says, the sloop *Spy*, Captain Niles, a Connecticut sloop of about 50 tons, 6 four-pounder guns, 30 men, sailed from Stonington with a copy of the treaty with France ratified. Arrived at Brest in twenty-one days; passed through a very numerous British fleet off Brest unobserved. It is supposed that as she was so small, she was not suspected of being an American. In 1841, one of her crew on this trip, Benjamin Coit, of Norwich, was still living.

The *Spy* was, indeed, a useful vessel, performing most effective service, and deserves a leading place in Revolutionary Naval annals. She was continually in service, was always ready for an enterprise, and while her cruises were short, they were of great value, as she was very successful in obtaining news, capturing prizes, and a terror to the smugglers that infested the west of the state. What her fate was, is not known, unless the following item, under date of April 15, 1779, implies her capture.

"Arrived in New London, Mr. Mortimer, late mate of the schooner *Spy*, R. Niles—from New York, to which place he came from England as a seaman, but on arriving in port, escaped and came home."

The calling of the *Spy* a schooner, may be a mistake, and the gallant little vessel may have found her fate in the English channel, an example of Connecticut enterprise and daring.

In December, 1775, the General Assembly resolved to purchase or build a war vessel and four row galleys, and in January, 1776, the Governor and Council appointed Benjamin Huntington, of Norwich, and Captain Seth Harding, commissioners to build such vessel. Captain Uriah Hayden, of Pottipaug, now Essex, in Saybrook, was engaged to build the said vessel at his shipyard, and in February, 1776, Captain Harding was appointed to command her, and to superintend the building. Her dimensions, as directed by the Governor and Council, were: keel, 80 feet; beam, 27 feet; depth of hold, 12 feet; burden, 260 tons. Her iron work was made by Benjamin Williams. Elijah Backus forged the anchors, two of 1,200 pounds each, and James Tilley manufactured part of the cordage. She was named *The Defence*, and brig rigged.

From all accounts the first list of her officers were :

Captain, Seth Harding.

First Lieutenant, Ebenezer Bartram, of Fairfield.

Second Lieutenant, Samuel Bartram.

Third Lieutenant, Samuel Smedley.

Master, John McCleave, of New Haven.

Lieutenant of Marines, Joseph Squire.

Ebenezer Bartram having resigned, Samuel Bartram became first lieutenant, Mr. Smedley second lieutenant, and James Hopkins, of Middletown, third lieutenant. Mr. McCleave having been made commander of one of the new galleys, Captain Josiah Burnham, of Lyme, became master.

There seems to have been some trouble with Captain Harding's methods, as on the 28th of February, Captain Ephraim Bill was appointed inspector, and to inspect the rigging and urge on the work; and on April 2d, Captain Harding was complained of for intemperance. The Governor and Council, on investigation, found no cause for removal, and he was continued in command.

The Defence was completed in May, 1776, and June 17th was cruising near the entrance to Boston harbor. Here Captain Harding took two transports, a ship and a brig, both armed, which he found at anchor in Nantasket Roads. He ran in between them and engaged, and after a spirited cannonading on both sides the transports surrendered. The Defence had nine men wounded, but none killed, while the enemy had eighteen killed and many wounded. The transports had 210 soldiers on board, and among the officers was Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, of General Frazer's regiment of Highlanders, and Major Menzies, who was killed in the action. The next day the Defence captured another transport with 112 men of the same regiment.

In these engagements the Defence was considerably damaged in hull and rigging. In September she was in New London refitting, and Mr. Henry Billings, of Norwich, became third lieutenant, going out on an eight weeks' cruise. She sent in during September a ship of 200 tons, the John, laden with a very valuable cargo of sugar, rum and cotton, and a Guineaman, homeward bound from the West Indies.

The Defence was chased into New London October 3d by two frigates which followed her from Narragansett Beach, and with which she exchanged between sixty and seventy shots. She sailed

for a two months' cruise almost immediately, and in January, 1777, was in Boston. Here Lieutenant Samuel Bartran was dismissed at his own request, because of sickness, Captain Harding testifying to his value as an officer. Lieutenant Smedley was promoted to first lieutenant, Billings to second and Mr. Pease became third; and Captain Burnham resigning as master, Mr. Bebee took his place. Captain Harding being taken sick and unable to sail in the brig the next cruise, Smedley took charge and James Angel became third lieutenant.

In this cruise Captain Smedley took several prizes—one with 3,000 barrels of provisions. These prizes were: In March, the *Snow Swift*, the schooner *Anna*, from Bristol to Dominico with a cargo of flour and painter's colors, and the barque *Lydia*, ten guns, from Liverpool to Pensacola; and in April, the *Grog*, a good name for the trade, a West Indian. Captain Smedley ran into Bedford the latter end of May, and Captain Harding having been transferred to the *Oliver Cromwell*, his commission as regular commander of the *Defence* was sent him dated April 25th, with blank commissions for his subordinates.

Changes of officers had taken place, and a lieutenant named Leeds was reported as dead. In August, 1777, the brig was again fitted for sea. She was now called the "*Old Defence*," another vessel of the same name and class having appeared on the scene. In this cruise James Angel, who had been sailing out of New London as master of ships for twelve years, was first lieutenant. In September, 1777, the brig was in Boston, and Captain Smedley recommended that she should be lengthened and made more suitable for fighting, stating that she was a most uncomfortable vessel in her present condition.

The recommendation was agreed to, and the *Defence* was lengthened and fitted as a ship, Samuel Elliott, Jr., of Boston, being Connecticut's agent in the business part of the matter. As a ship, under Captain Smedley, the *Defence* sailed from Boston, March 4th, 1778, in company with the *Oliver Cromwell*, and some time afterward they captured the *Admiral Keppe* and the *Cygnus*, the latter being the particular prize of the *Defence*, and Lieutenant Pease, of that vessel, was made prize master.

The ship was leaking at the time of the engagement, and sixty of her crew were inoculated with the smallpox. She was considerably cut up in hull and rigging.

On March 10th, 1779, the ship *Defence*, still under Captain Smedley, when returning from a cruise, struck on Goshen Reef, bilged, and soon after overset. Her guns and most of her stores were saved. As no further notice of her appears, she must have proved a total wreck.

Of her namesake the only notice that remains is an item saying that an armed brig, called the *Defence*, Captain Daniel Deshon commander, was captured by the British in January, 1778, and carried into Jamaica.

Of the four row galleys ordered by the General Assembly of Connecticut in December, 1775, but three appear to have been built. They were the *Whiting*, built at New Haven; the *Crane*, built at East Haddam, and the *Shark*, built at Norwich. They were 60 feet keel, 18 feet beam and 5 feet depth of hold. Captain Jonathan Lester, of Norwich, built the *Shark*, and J. & B. Huntington attended to the rigging. She was finished and ready for sea in July, and was ordered to rendezvous at Stonington. Her officers and crew were: Captain, Theophilus Stanton; first lieutenant, Zodock Brewster; second lieutenant, Amos Stanton; master, William Wilbur; surgeon, Benjamin Ellis; boatswain, John Fenton; gunner, John Fish; carpenter, Roger Fanning; clerk, Manasseh Short; steward, Nathaniel Stanton; gunner's mate, Edward Culver; cook, Henry Burnside; seamen, Robert Palmer, Asa Maynard, Samuel Pettice, Amos Lane, Mathew Longwood, James Warner, James Corning, Jonathan Fanning, William Palmer, James Oland, Thomas Nickalls, John Bond, John Robinson, Thomas Bellows, Thomas Fanning, Christopher Lewis, John Keeping, Nathan Fish, Robert Davison. Marines — Sergeants, Silas Sterry, Edward Williams; corporals, James Stanton, Solomon Davis; drummer, David Fenton; privates, James Colkins, Samuel Rockwell, David Greenslit, Nathan Fanning, William Fish, Jabez Choat, Robert Dixon, Joshua Downe, Ebenezer Wrath, Thomas Woods, John Jeffers, John Wampee, Elisha Holdridge, Abel Chapman, Isaac Stanton, Darius Brewster, John Fish, Jr. Dr. Henry Ellis was also a surgeon on the *Shark*.

The list of officers of the *Whiting* was: Captain, John McCleave; first lieutenant, Israel Bishop; second lieutenant, Ebenezer Peck; master, William Plummatt; of the *Crane*—captain, Jehiel Tinker; first lieutenant, David Brooks of Haddam; second lieutenant, Elias Lay; master, Calvin Ely. The *Crane* was ready

for service in July and was ordered to rendezvous at New London. She was built by Job Winslow. The Whiting was built by William Grenough, and she was superintended by Captains J. Sears, Michael Todd and James Rice. She was ordered to New York with the Crane in 1776, by request of Washington. The Shark was in the Hudson from October 29th, 1776, to February 15, 1777, Roger Fanning, master. The Whiting and Crane were captured in the Hudson in the fall of 1776, but there is no note of the fate of the Shark.

These were to carry about fifty men, including the officers, and among their equipments were twenty lances and poles and twenty hatchets.

The largest state vessel of Connecticut was the ship *Oliver Cromwell*, of twenty guns, built at Saybrook in 1776, by order of the legislature and under the direction of the Governor and Council. Captain William Coit superintended the building and was appointed her first commander. In July the other officers were appointed as follows: First lieutenant, Timothy Parker; second lieutenant, David Hawley; third lieutenant, Samuel Champlain; master, Azariah Whittlesey, of Saybrook; captain of marines, Eliphalet Roberts, of Hartford. In the early part of August, 1776, she was struck by lightning. On the 20th of August, Sunday, she came out of the river piloted by James Harris, being the largest vessel that had ever passed the bar. She was fitted in New London, Nathaniel Shaw, the commissary of naval stores, furnished all supplies. There were many difficulties attending the shipping of a crew, and these delays caused trouble. Dissatisfaction, too, occurred among the officers, several of them retired and others were dismissed, and in October the list stood: Captain, William Coit; first lieutenant, Michael Melally; second lieutenant, John Chapman; third lieutenant, John Smith, of East Hartford; second lieutenant of marines, John Prentis; surgeon, Samuel Lee; surgeon's mate, Thomas Gray.

She was ordered to sail on her first cruise October 24th, but could not be got ready. In December, Dr. A. Waldo was appointed surgeon. January 28th, 1777, the Governor and Council ordered that she should immediately proceed to sea, but the crew now deserted, and detained her. Melally, the first lieutenant, was dismissed in March, and at this time, Captain Coit reported that he would be ready to sail as soon as bread, wood and rum were

received. He was not allowed to make a cruise in her, for April 14th he was discharged from the state service, and Captain Seth Harding took command, Timothy Parker being again first lieutenant and Josiah Burnham, master.

She sailed on her first cruise in May, 1777, and soon captured the brig Medway and other prizes. In July she took the brigantine Honor, and in August a brig laden with provisions. In September she captured the Weymouth packet, a brig carrying sixteen guns and fifty men, and having several passengers on board. This prize was carried into Boston, where it was fitted out for a cruiser, given an armament of twenty guns and called the Hancock. The Honor, the brigantine captured, was bound from Dartmouth, England, to St. John's, New Foundland, and made Dartmouth, New England, as a prize. She was very valuable, selling with her cargo for more than \$53,000. The prisoners taken in the Weymouth and Honor, among which was the captain of a fifty gun ship were sent to Connecticut.

In December, Captain Harding having been appointed to the regular Continental navy, and assigned to the command of the Confederacy, on the 6th, Timothy Parker was made captain, Chapman promoted to first lieutenant and Smith to second. James Day was appointed captain of marines. In February Lieutenant Smith resigned.

In March, 1778, the Oliver Cromwell sailed from Boston in company with the state ship Defence, Captain Smedley, and on the 13th of April, they captured the Admiral Keppel, eighteen six pounders, and the Cygnus, sixteen guns. The Admiral Keppel was the prize of the Oliver Cromwell, and John Tillinghast, the third lieutenant of the American ship, brought her in. The Cromwell had one man killed and several wounded; Captain James Day, of the marines, being mortally hurt, dying the day after the battle. The Keppel had several distinguished passengers, the Hon. Henry Shirley, late British ambassador to Russia, and on his way to Jamaica as government commissioner, being one of the number. She was very valuable, selling with her cargo for over \$110,000.

The Cromwell was advertised for a cruise in March, 1779. She sailed May 10, 1779, and came into New London May 24, having captured four prizes and bringing in sixty prisoners. One of her prizes was an armed schooner carrying ten guns; another

an armed sloop, tender to the British frigate *Renown*, also carrying ten guns. This was a very good result for a twelve days' cruise.

But the *Cromwell* was near the end of her career as an American cruiser, for on June 5th, some leagues off Sandy Hook, she met the British frigate *Daphne*, and had a sharp fight of two hours, when another ship coming up to the *Daphne's* assistance, and the *Cromwell's* mainmast being shot away, Captain Parker struck his flag. The *Cromwell* had three men killed—Thomas Stanton, Michael Ewen and John Knowles—and five were wounded.

The British fitted the *Oliver Cromwell* for their service, and called her the *Restoration*, and she was soon out on a cruise under their flag.

Some of her crew came home in June, William Howard, of New London, being of the number. Others followed, and in August Captain Parker and forty men were sent in in a flag of truce. An interesting item concerning her is the statement of Daniel Stanton 2d, one of her crew, published August 26th. In this he says that he and his companions had been imprisoned in the prison ships *Jersey* and *Good Hope*; that nothing had been plundered from them; that the sick had been attended by physicians; that wholesome food in reasonable quantities had been given them; and that on the whole they had been as humanely treated as could be expected.

There were several other state cruisers, among them the schooner *Mifflin*, in 1777, Captain Timothy White and other officers and men being discharged in May. In April, 1777, the *Mifflin* under Captain John Kerr, filed a libel in the marine court of New London against the sloop *Doty*, and in May, against the sloops *Speedwell*, *Betsey*, *Polly* and *Hannah*, *Katherine* and *Sea Flower*, and the schooner *Industry*, and their cargoes. She was also cruising in June, but Captain Kerr was then commanding the ship *Warren*. This may have been a state ship, but there is no record to determine the fact.

The state had an armed schooner named the *Schuyler*, under Captain Hawley, in service in 1777.

In 1779, the *Mars*, an armed sloop belonging to the British service and commanded by Captain Samuel Rogers, was run ashore near Guilford and captured. She was got off and taken

into the service of the state, and in June, 1779, came into New London under the command of a Captain Nott. She is reported as having captured a letter-of-marque ship, which, with cargo, was valued at \$125,000.

The state also bought, for about \$11,000, a prize sloop that the fleet of Commodore Hopkins brought into New London from New Providence, and fitted her out for a cruiser and under date of March 7, Hinman notices the brig of war *America*, Captain John Nott, as lying at Fairfield. Here again, there are no records to determine whether she was a state cruiser or not, though the supposition is that she was.

The list of officers and men of the *Oliver Cromwell* shows how both were changed in the rapid movement of events and is given to illustrate this.

Her captains were: William Coit, Seth Harding and Timothy Parker; lieutenants, Timothy Parker, David Hawley, Samuel Champlain, Michael Melally, John Chapman, John Smith, Caleb Frisbie, John Tillinghast. Masters, Azariah Whittlesey and Josiah Burnham; surgeons, Samuel Lee and A. Waldo; captains of marines, Eliphalet Rogers and James Day; mates, Andrew Morris, Joseph Hubbard and Curtis Reed; midshipmen, Isaiah Cohoon, Ralph Hoadley, William Higgins, Daniel Starr, Benjamin Jones, jun., Samuel Bidwell, Samuel Buffam, Samuel Stow; lieutenants of marines, John Prentice, 2nd, and Bela Elderkin; surgeon's mate, Thomas Gray; boatswain, John Crage; gunner, Thomas W. Foster; carpenter, Jacob Chandler; sailmaker, Turtle Hunter; captain's clerk, Jabez Perkins, 3rd; prizemasters, Jonathan Woodward and John Baker; boatswain's mates, Thomas Tillinghast and Samuel Tollard; gunner's mate, Peter J. Sangster; gunner's yeoman, Edward Brazer; carpenter's mate, Amos Ranney; carpenter's yeoman, Timothy Boardman; quarter-masters, Thomas Smith, John Essex, Doty Randol; armorer, Bosalael Beebe; steward, Samuel Holman; seamen, Chace Rogers, Gideon Chapman, Edward Morriss, Archelus Barker, Joseph Smith, Eliphalets Roberts, Jr., Roger Dyer, Joseph Miller, Antoney Woolf, Samuel Mackentash, John Drisco, John Slatterly, Chauncey Smith, Thomas Ridgway, Benjamin Woodruff, William Bunce, Michael Dwire, Elkanah Elmer, Peter Gilbert, Benjamin Wyatt, John Hedge, Thomas Matthews, John Gardner, Joseph Hovey, Samuel Chace, Boston Swain, Samuel Combs, James Mathews,

Thomas Bumblecom, Enoch Crowell, Samuel Addams, William Jones, William Swan, Thomas Goodman, Thomas Reves, Peter Mollone, Francis Jarvis, William Waples, Thomas Williams, John Wood, John Killey and William Byrns. Landsmen, George Runney, Samuel Johnson and Hugh McManny. Boys, Benjamin Shelten, Nathaniel Oliver, John Setchel, John Parsons, William H. Wattles and Benona Dick (Indian). Sargeants of marines, Azariah Hilliard and Abel Woodward ; corporal, Samuel Wattles ; drummer, John Rogers, 5th ; privates, Richard Rose, Gurden Smith, Caleb Smith, Samuel Andrus, Hutchins Bowden, Charles Boardman, Ebenezer Baldwin, John Henry, Levy Darting, Crutinden Ward, Jeremiah Ward, Daniel W. Sanderforth, Chapman Simmons, Thomas Crosman, Jonathan Waterhouse, Daniel Hilliard, John Wittlesey, John Wetman, Nathaniel Riley, John Batt, Jonas Park, Levy Park, Perum Ripley, Joseph Starkweather, Ezekiel Goff, John Rogers, jun., Stephen Ward, jun., Philemon Roberts, jun., Charles Plum, Stephen Ward, Benjamin Gardner, Moses Butler, John Griffin, Daniel Lee, John Lamb, John Blardell, Wilson Rowlandson, Edmond Dorr, Ebenezer Tolcott, Simeon Post, Abraham Low, Samuel Williams, Stephen Payne, William Waterman, Chandler Wattles, Jabez Palmer, Eliphalet House, jun., Asa Lyman, Joseph Allen, Jesse Loomis, Derias Waterman, Jerod Allen, Timothy Goodwin, Ezekiel Fitch, jun., Abijah Hutchinson, Walter Hunt, Gladding Waterman, John Bliss, Josiah Woodworth, John Coteney, Daniel Rockwell, John Brickle, Joshua Boynton, Roswell Lamfear, Benjamin Jones, Amasa Waterman, (negro) Richard Hendrick, (negro) Cato Tyng, (negro) Jambo Dee, (negro) and Neal Lathrop (negro).

It thus appears that the negroes enlisted and served as soldiers in considerable quantities during the Revolution, for five privates in one marine guard is certainly a marked example.

(From the Connecticut Gazette for Wednesday, September 1, 1779.)

“RENDER UNTO CAESAR THE THINGS WHICH ARE CAESAR’S.”

MR. GREENE.—By publishing the following in your useful Paper you will oblige a Friend of yours and the Publick.

Having often read in your Gazette of Cruel Treatment that American Prisoners had received from the British—trust I may without offence be allowed to relate the usage I received while a Prisoner with them.

I was taken with a number of others, on or about the 5th of June last in the Ship *Oliver Cromweil*, carried into New York, and put on the Prison Ship *Jersey*. There was nothing plundered from us ; we were kindly used by the Captain and others that belonged to the ship. Our Sick were attended by Physicians who appeared very Officious to recover them to health. Our Allowance for Subsistance was wholesome and in reasonable Plenty, including the Allowance by the Continental Congress sent on Board. About three or four weeks past, we were removed on board the Prison Ship *Good Hope*, where we found many sick ; there is now a hospital ship provided, to which they are removed, and good Attention paid ; and doubt not the same Hospitality is used towards those of the Enemy, where the Fortune of War has cast into our hands. On the whole we were as humanely treated as our Condition and the Enemy's Safety would admit.

Stonington, August 28th, 1779.

DANIEL STANTON, 2d.

NOTE. — There is another instance of the different spelling of a name, in the case of the ship captured with the Admiral Keppel. In some accounts it is spelled *Cygnus*, and in others, *Cyrus*. Which is proper, cannot now be determined.

THE STORY

OF THE

VESSELS BUILT IN CONNECTICUT

FOR THE

CONTINENTAL NAVY.

I.

THE TRUMBULL.

In that romantic narrative wherein fact is indeed stranger than fiction, the story of the actions and achievements of the ships of the Continental Navy, no vessel occupies a more distinguished position than one built in Connecticut, and named after the patriot Governor who so wisely guided the fortunes of the state during those troublous times, and which, largely manned by citizens of that sturdy Commonwealth, fought what is known as the most stubborn naval battle of the Revolution.

October 13th, 1775, the Continental Congress ordered the equipment of two vessels for cruisers, one to carry 10, the other 14 guns. On the 30th of the same month, this force was increased by two more cruisers, one to carry 20, the other 36 guns; and later in the same year, December 13th, thirteen vessels were ordered built, three to carry 24, five 28 and five 32 guns. Of this number, one, a ship of 28 guns, was assigned to Connecticut, and the Governor and Council of Safety were charged with her construction. John Cotton, of Middletown, was appointed to superintend the work, and the vessel was built at Chatham, on the Connecticut, a little below Middletown, and on the opposite side of the river.

She came down the river in February, 1778, but was unable to get over the Bar that ran across the mouth of the stream. Captain Dudley Saltonstall, of New London, who had been the commander of the *Alfred* in Commodore Ezek Hopkins' fleet in

the expedition to New Providence, had been detached from that vessel and ordered to the command of the Trumbull, and he, his officers and men were ordered to give Captain Cotton, the ship builder, all aid possible in getting the ship into the deep water of the Sound. Congress also requested the Governor and Council to attend to and control the moving of the vessel over the Bar, and they directed Captain Cotton to employ all the men and material to do this that he might deem necessary.

As in the case of most of the vessels of the Naval force, Continental, State and Private armed, the accounts concerning the Trumbull differ. Cooper, in his Naval History says that "On the 19th of April, 1778, the Trumbull, under command of Captain Saltonstall, fell in with off New York, and captured after a sharp action, two armed transports with stores of value on board. In this affair, the enemy suffered severely in casualties, and the Trumbull herself had seven men killed, and eight wounded "

Another account states that the Trumbull did not arrive in New London until in August, 1779, that she was floated across the Bar at Saybrook by a device of Captain Elisha Hinman of the Continental Navy, who caused casks full of water to be strung along her sides and connected by lashing running underneath the ship. These were then pumped out, raising the hull so that the vessel floated over the Bar at high tide. It further states that the Trumbull was taken up the Thames to Galetown, now Gales Ferry, where she was fitted for sea under the superintendence of Captain Hinman, who expected to be given command of her, Captain Saltonstall having been detailed to the Warren, a larger ship. Captain Hinman was a friend of Captain Saltonstall, and may have assisted him with advice. He was not given the command he desired, but was ordered to the Alfred, Captain James Nicholson, the senior officer of the Navy taking command of the Trumbull.

Cooper must have been mistaken in his statement, and perhaps confounded the private armed ship, Governor Trumbull, of 18 guns, and sometime commanded by Captain Nathaniel Saltonstall, with the larger vessel.

The accounts of the first engagement that occurred after the Trumbull got to sea, i. e., that of Cooper and the one before quoted, should be given entire, as they make very interesting reading.

The first says — "The Trumbull is generally supposed to have carried 28 guns, 24 twelve and 4 six pounders, but some accounts say that she was pierced for 32 and carried 30 guns, 24 twelve and 6 six pounders. Her crew numbered 200, and were mostly from New London and its vicinity, and she sailed on her first cruise in April, 1780. She took and sent in several prizes of small value, and on the 2nd of June, off Bermuda, Lat. $35^{\circ} 54'$ Long. $66^{\circ} W.$ (some accounts say Long. $63^{\circ} W.$) she fell in with the ship Watt, an English letter-of-marque of 34 guns, mostly 12 pounders, commanded by Captain Colehart, and having a crew of 250 men. These particulars were obtained afterward, but at the time of action, the two ships knew nothing of each other save that they were adversaries.

The English ship fired first at a distance of about 100 yards, and the action lasted without intermission 5 glasses or $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours, the two vessels lying side by side, pouring broadsides into each other, sometimes scarcely half a cable's length asunder, and their yards more than once interlocked.

The Watt was a private vessel, and had a cargo of great value, and had been specially equipped to fight her way. Several passengers were on board, who came on deck and fought with all of the heroism of practised soldiers. The cannonade was kept up with equal spirit, and nearly equal effect.

The loss was so great in proportion to the numbers engaged, that it is considered the most sanguinary naval battle of the Revolution. The Watt is said to have had 92 killed and wounded, the Trumbull 39. Many of the Trumbull's crew were landsmen, and were suffering from sea-sickness, some so much so as to be disabled from taking part in the action. Of those who fought, every fourth man was killed or wounded.

In the course of this terrible action, Richard Law, a midshipman on board the Trumbull, then only 17 years of age, was left alone at his gun, every other man that belonged to it, lying dead or disabled near him. He was bespattered with their blood, and the mangled fragments of one of his friends, who, shot to pieces in the rigging above him, fell upon the deck by his side.

At length the firing ceased, and the vessels drifted apart. The Watt was most injured in the hull, the Trumbull in the rigging. Captain Nicholson would have renewed the action, but he found his mainmast tottering, and the vessels were scarcely

a musket shot apart, when all of the masts and spars of the Trumbull went over the side except the foremast, which was injured in several places, and saved with difficulty. The Watt also lost her maintop mast.

Gideon Chapman, of New London, went overboard on the main top of the Trumbull, which fell after the action had ceased. The boats were all shot to pieces, and there was no means of saving him. A bulkhead was thrown overboard, upon which he threw himself, and thus drifted from sight. As the ship ran away to leeward, they could see him holding on with one hand, and with the other beckoning, beckoning, beckoning to his comrades for assistance, till they could see him no longer. Tears fell from the eyes of the rough seamen, and they wrung their hands in anguish as the sad spectacle was lost in the distance.

The two after guns on the quarter deck were commanded by Adams, the purser, who was wounded early in the action, and went below. Peleg Talman, of Tiverton, R. I., was then placed in charge of the guns, and continued at the post while the engagement lasted, but just at the close of the action, his arm was taken off by a cannon ball just at the shoulder joint.

The day after the battle, a heavy gale came on. The crew of the Trumbull ever retained a vivid recollection of their sufferings on this day. They lay, as far as their masts and rigging were concerned, a perfect wreck, at the mercy of the raging elements. The deck and hull were cut up, the groans of the wounded filled the pauses of the storm, and they were exhausted by fatigue and excitement. The officers were filled with anxiety, lest some other hostile vessel should meet them, in which case they must have fallen an easy prey, but the gale abating by slow degrees, they rigged jury-masts, and though encountering much rough weather, arrived in Boston Harbor, June 14th."

Cooper's account of this action is as follows :

"The first action of moment that occurred this year (1780) between any United States vessel and the enemy, has the reputation of having been the most hotly and obstinately contested combat of the war. June 2nd, 1780, the Trumbull, 28, then under command of Captain James Nicholson, the senior officer of the navy, while cruising in Lat. 35° 54' N., Long. 62° W., made a strange sail to windward from the mastheads. The Trumbull immediately furled all her canvas, in the hope of drawing the

stranger down upon her before she could be seen. At eleven, the stranger was made out to be a large ship, steering for the Trumbull's quarter ; but soon hauling more astern, sail was got on the American ship to chase. After some manœuvring, in order to try the rate of sailing, and to get a view of the stranger's broadside, the Trumbull took in her light sails, and hauled up her courses, the chase all this time betraying no desire to avoid an action, but standing directly for her adversary. When near enough, the Trumbull filled, and outsailing the stranger, she easily fetched to windward of her. The chase now fired three guns, showed English colors, and edged away, under short sail, evidently with an intention to pursue her course.

Captain Nicholson harangued his men, and then made sail to bring his ship up with the enemy. When about a hundred yards distant, the English ship fired a broadside, and the action began in good earnest. For two hours and a half the vessels lay nearly abeam of each other, giving and receiving broadsides without intermission. At no time were they a hundred yards asunder, and more than once the yards nearly interlocked. Twice was the Trumbull set on fire by the wads of her enemy, and once the enemy suffered in the same way. At last the fire of the Englishman slackened sensibly, until it nearly ceased.

Captain Nicholson now felt satisfied that he should make a prize of his antagonist, and was encouraging his people with that hope, when a report was brought him that the main-mast was tottering, and if it went while near the enemy, his ship would probably be the sacrifice. Anxious to secure the spar, sail was made, and the Trumbull shot ahead again, her superiority of sailing being very decided. She was soon clear of her adversary who made no effort to molest her. The vessels, however, were scarcely musket-shot apart, when the main and mizzen topmasts of the Trumbull went over the side, and in spite of every effort to secure them, spar after spar came down, until nothing was left but the fore-mast. Under such circumstances, the enemy, who had manifested no desire to profit by her advantage, went off on her proper course. Before she was out of sight, her main-top mast was also seen to fall.

It was afterwards ascertained that the ship engaged by the Trumbull was a letter-of-marque called the Watt, Captain Coulthard, a vessel of size, that had been expressly fitted to fight her

way. Her force is not mentioned in the English accounts, but her commander, in his narrative of the affair, in which he claims the victory, admits his loss to have been 92 men, in killed and wounded. Captain Nicholson estimates her force at 34 or 36 guns, mostly twelve pounders; and he states that of the Trumbull to have been 24 twelve pounders and 6 sixes, with 199 souls on board when the action commenced. The Trumbull lost 39, in killed and wounded, among the former of whom were two of her lieutenants.

In the way of a regular cannonade, this combat is thought to have been the severest that was fought in the war of the Revolution. There is no question of the superiority of the Watt in everything but sailing, she having been essentially the largest and strongest ship, besides carrying more guns and men than her opponent. Owing to the difficulty of obtaining seamen, that has been so often mentioned, the Trumbull's crew was composed in a great degree of raw hands, and Captain Nicholson states particularly that many of his people were suffering under sea-sickness when they went to their guns."

There is still another account of this fight, in two letters sent to his father, General Gurdon Saltonstall, by Gilbert Saltonstall, captain of marines on board the Trumbull. As all documents and narratives bearing on incidents of the Revolution are of value, this account is also given, in the words of the writer, nothing being changed.

"NANTASKET ROADS, JUNE 14, 1780.

HONORED SIR :— On the 1st instant, at 9 o'clock in the morning, Lat. 36 N., Long. 63 W. we saw a sail from mast-head, directly to windward; as soon as she discovered us she bore down for us; we got ready for action, at 1 o'clock began to engage and continued without the least intermission for 5 glasses within pistol shot. It is beyond my power to give an adequate idea of the carnage, slaughter, havoc and destruction that ensued. Let your imagination do its best, it will fall short. We were literally cut all to pieces; not a shroud, stay, brace, bowline or any other of our rigging standing; our maintop mast shot away; our fore, main, mizzen and jigger masts going by the board; some of our quarter-deck guns disabled; through our ensign 62 shot, our mizzen 157, mainsail 560, foresail 180, and other sails in proportion; not a yard in the ship but received one or more shot; six

shot through her quarter above the quarter deck, four in the waist ; our quarter, stern and nettings full of langrage, grape and musket ball. We suffered more than we otherwise should on account of the ship that engaged us being a very dull sailor, our ship being out of command, she kept on our starboard quarter the better part of the engagement.

After $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours action, she hauled her wind, her pumps going, we edged away, so that it may fairly be called a drawn battle.

Our loss of men will appear from the inclosed list. I most sincerely condole with the friends of the unfortunate deceased, Mr. Starr, Mr Bill and Mr. Chapman, (1.) The latter after the engagement was on the mizzen topmast splicing the tie, the topmast went over the side and carried him with it ; the bulkhead of the cabin was thrown over and I saw him get on it, but it was not in our power to heave the ship about ; our boats were both wounded so that they would be of no service could we have hoisted them out which we could not. I never was more distressed in my life, to see a person in full life perishing before one's eyes, and no possibility of giving him relief.

We have suffered greatly from New London. Mr. Starr was wounded the latter part of the engagement with a grape shot, which went in just above the right hip bone and was cut out behind. He lived until 4 o'clock Monday morning following, when he died without a groan or struggle. I was with him most of the time after he was wounded till he died. The day after he was wounded he was out of his head and so continued till his decease. I suppose his bowels mortified as he was insensible of pain.

Mr. Bill was killed in the first of the engagement by a piece of langrage which took off the upper part of his head. He died instantly.

Mr. Adams was wounded with a grape shot through the thick of his left thigh. He is in a good way.

Mr. Pool received a musket ball through his shoulder. He is about again.

Mr. Breed was wounded in the elbow and thigh (he acted as marine) with splinters from the after quarter deck gun which had about a foot of its muzzle shot away by a 12 pounder. He is not bad.

Isaac Freeman was wounded with a double headed shot which carried away all of the outside of his right thigh and the inner part of his arm as it hung down by his side. He died the 12th instant.

John Knowland had his thighs shattered to pieces with a double headed shot. He died soon after.

As you will observe my name among the wounded, you will doubtless be anxious. I had eleven different wounds from my shoulder to my hip ; some with buck shot, others with the splinters of the quarter deck gun. I had one shot through the brim of my hat, but was not disabled as to quit the quarter deck till after the engagement and am now as well as ever. Have one buck shot in my hip.

LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED.

Daniel Starr, lieutenant, wounded and died on the 5th ; Gilbert Saltonstall, captain of marines, wounded ; David Bill, volunteer, killed ; Alexander P. Adams, purser, wounded ; David Pool, boatswain, wounded ; Jesse Breed, midshipman, wounded ; Henry Ward, midshipman, wounded ; Thomas Ramsey, captain's clerk, wounded ; Peter Darrow, coxswain, wounded ; Simon Lumber, quartermaster, wounded ; Ezekiel Hyatt, sergeant marines, wounded and died four hours after ; Jeffrey Allen, wounded ; Luke Brown, wounded ; Robert Dawson, wounded ; Cyrus Chafee, wounded and died the 10th ; Issac Freeman, died the 12th ; Thomas Congdon, wounded ; John Collier, wounded ; John Patterson, died the 13th ; Peter McPherson, died the 14th ; Thomas Douglas, wounded ; Jonathan Meacham, wounded ; Ichabod Meacham, wounded ; John Armstrong, wounded ; Peleg Tallman, wounded ; William Johnston, wounded ; John Carroll, wounded ; John Greene, wounded ; David Broome, wounded ; James Johnston, wounded ; Peter Nostrand, wounded ; William Stile, wounded ; William Scudder, wounded ; James Mackey, killed ; Samuel Lewis, killed ; John Knowland, died in four hours ; James Cullen, killed ; Richardson Warren, killed ; Jabez Smith (2) Jr., of Groton, lieutenant of marines, killed.

Yours &c.,

GILBERT SALTONSTALL.

HONORED SIR :—I wrote you on the 14th instant from Nantasket Road, giving an account of our cruise — Captain Nichol-

son's going up to town obliged me to curtail my letter — shall now continue my narrative.

When we first made the ship, the wind was nearly south. We were standing N. E., she S. W. Upon her bearing down upon us we lay too — as soon as she made our wake we made sail — she being a dull sailer we got the wind of her, hauled up our courses and laid the mizen topsail to the mast for her to come up. Soon after the action began, our braces being shot away we fell off before the wind. They supposing we intended boarding them which they appeared as unprepared for as we were sprung their luff and got to windward where they kept the remainder of the action, the latter part of it safely upon our starboard quarter which we were not able to prevent as our ship was out of command from her rigging being shot away.

The only knowledge we have of her is from one of our prisoners who was on deck after the engagement and said he knew her to be the *Williamson*, a French Indiaman, taken this war and cut down, that she mounted 26 twelves on her main deck, 6 sixes on her quarter deck and 4 on her forecastle, which corresponds with our own observations. Though we were cut to pieces she has nothing to boast of should she get in — her sides were damaged as much as our sails and rigging — her maintop mast was hanging over her side just ready to go as well as her mainmast — her sails and rigging were not damaged so much as ours — as we fired principally at her hull, whence we conclude we did more execution than they, though they did enough. Had we had a sufficiency of langrage and aimed at her rigging instead of her hull, I think we should have carried her — our wads set her netting on fire on her larboard quarter, which they cleared themselves of by cutting part of their nettings away. We saw them heave sundry of their men overboard during the action. Their wads set our nettings afire on our starboard bow — our main and quarter deck guns expended 388 rounds, 86 of which were fired on the quarter deck; the marines fired pistols during the engagement exclusive of which they fired near 1200 rounds.

Upon the whole there has not been a more close, obstinate and bloody engagement since the war. I hope it won't be treason if I don't except even *Paul Jones* — all things considered we may dispute titles with him.

When he engaged the *Serapis*, a ship of equal force, he had a prospect of aid from the Alliance and the rest of his squadron—we engaged with a decided superiority against us and not the least idea of assistance.

Our troubles ceased not with the engagement, the next day, the 2nd it blew a heavy gale of wind, which soon carried away our main and mizen masts by the board—the fore topmast followed them, and had it not been for the greatest exertions our foremast must have gone also, it being wounded in many places, but by fishing and propping it was saved. In this situation no person would envy us—tore to pieces—our masts gone—at the mercy of the elements—the cries of the wounded—our decks lumbered with the destruction of the enemy the day before and of the storm then raging—our men beat out with fatigue—a hull—a prize to anything that should happen to come athwart us of force—a beast not totally bereft of sympathy, of common humanity, must have sympathised with us in our then condition.

We remained in this situation till the next day, the 3rd, our men having got a little over the fatigue of the engagement and the duty of the ship—the gale abating, we got up jury masts and made the best shift. In the night the gale increased again, and continued from that time till we got soundings on George's Banks in 45 fathoms of water the 11th instant. We got into Nantasket the 14th, the day following into the harbor.

I am amazed at the pliability, the easiness and the forgetfulness of man, tho' I add one to the number. Notwithstanding all we have gone through, we are now in high glee at the thought of being out again soon—we are fitting out with the utmost expedition. The Confederacy masts not being needed by her yet, are preparing for us; our rigging, sails, etc., are fixing. We have opened a rendezvous and expect to sail with the *Deane*.

My brothers will excuse my not writing them as it will only be a repetition of what I have already wrote and I am not fond of telling, much less writing anything twice. My love to them and all their families and connections. The blessings of those ready to perish has rested on me for sundry matters that sister Molly put up for me, which I now transfer to her with my own love and thanks in addition.

Mr. Starr's and Mr. Bill's effects I have taken an account of and wish to have some directions from their friends respecting

them. Mr. Law has the charge of Mr. Chapman's. Another of our men died of his wounds the day we got in, Peter McPherson. Our wounded men were moved last Friday to the hospital, the Manufacturers' House, except Mr. Adams who chose to remain on board. Thomas Douglass, one of the wounded, has a wife on the Great Neck. I wrote you in mine of the 14th that all our shrouds were carried away. We had four of our forward shrouds on the starboard side remaining after the action. Some New London papers would be very acceptable

Yours &c.,

GILBERT SALTONSTALL,

Ship Trumbull, Boston Harbor, June 19, 1780.

This report of Captain Saltonstall is a graphic account of the fight by an eye witness, and the three different narratives make a very interesting summary of one of the most noted of our Revolutionary naval episodes.

The Trumbull was refitted in Boston, and Captain Nicholson was continued in command. There is no record of any service performed during the winter, but in the summer of 1781, she left the Delaware with a crew short of 200 men, as convoy to twenty-eight sail of merchant craft bound to Cape Francois, in the West Indies. A heavy privateer was in company, but the crew of the Trumbull was not one to inspire confidence, more than 50 of the number being of the questionable material afforded by prisoners of war. The events that followed, are graphically summed up by Cooper, in his History of the Navy, and this account is here given.

"Off the capes, the Trumbull made three British cruisers astern. Two of the enemy's cruisers, one of which was a frigate, stood for the Trumbull, which ship, by hauling up, was enabled to gain the wind of them. Night was near, and it blew heavily. The merchantmen began to diverge from the course, though, by carrying easy sail, the Trumbull was enabled to keep most of them ahead, and in their stations. While standing on in this manner, hoping everything from the darkness, a squall carried away the Trumbull's foretop mast, which in falling, brought down with it the maintop gallant mast. As the weather was thick and squally, the vessels in company of the Trumbull took advantage of the obscurity and scattered, each making the best of her way, according to her particular rate of sailing. The Trumbull herself

was compelled to bear up, in order to carry the canvas necessary to escape, but with the wreck over her bows, and a crew that was not deficient in numbers, but which was raw, and in part disaffected, her situation became in the last degree embarrassing. Indeed, her condition has been described as being so peculiarly distressing, as almost to form an instance of its own, of the difficulties that sometimes accompany naval warfare.

About 10 o'clock at night, the British frigate *Iris*, 32, one of the vessels in chase, closed with the *Trumbull*, which ship, on account of the heaviness of the weather, had not been able to clear the wreck. In the midst of rain and squalls, in a tempestuous night, with most of the forward hamper of the ship over her bows, or lying on the fore-castle, with one of the arms of the fore topsail yard run through her foresail, and the other jammed on deck, and with a disorganized crew, Captain Nicholson found himself compelled to go to quarters, or to strike without resistance. He preferred the first, but the English volunteers instead of obeying the order, went below, extinguished the lights, and secreted themselves. Near half of the remainder of the people imitated this example, and Captain Nicholson could not muster fifty of even the diminished crew he had at the guns. The battle that followed might almost be said to have been fought by the officers. These brave men, sustained by a party of the petty officers and seamen, managed a few of the guns for more than an hour, when the *General Monk*, 18, coming up, and joining in the fire of the *Iris*, the *Trumbull* submitted.

In this singular combat, it has even been asserted that at no time were forty of the *Trumbull's* people at their quarters. It was probably owing to this that her loss was so small, for the ship herself is said to have been extensively cut up. She had five men killed and eleven wounded. Among the latter were two lieutenants, and Mr. Alexander Murray, a gentleman of Maryland, who had been educated to the seas, and had been in the action with the *Watt*, but who was then serving as a volunteer, and who, after commanding several private cruisers, entered the navy, and subsequently died at the head of the service in 1821. Mr. Murray was particularly distinguished in this affair, and the conduct of Captain Nicholson met with much applause. The

Iris suffered more than could have been expected under the circumstances, and reported seven men killed and wounded."

The Trumbull, after her capture, was towed to New York, and condemned. She never went to sea again, but was hauled into the dock at Rutgers slip, and cut up for fire wood. Though unsuccessful in her battles, she still fought two of the most famous fights that took place on the ocean during the exciting years of the Revolution.

Of the vessels that captured the Trumbull, the Iris, 32, had formerly been the United States frigate Hancock, and when under Captain Manly, had been captured by the fleet of Sir George Collier, consisting of the Rainbow, 44, the Flora, 32, and the Victor, 16. In company with the Richmond frigate, she was afterwards captured by the fleet of the Count de Grasse. The General Monk, 18, the consort of the Iris, in her fight with the Trumbull had been an American privateer from Salem, called the General Washington, and she was soon afterward captured by the Hyder Ally, 16, Captain Joshua Barney, in an action said to have been the most brilliant of the war, the Monk carrying 20 guns and 136 men, to her antagonists 16 guns and 110 men

A LIST OF THE FIRST OFFICERS AND CREW OF THE TRUMBULL.

Dudley Saltonstall, commander ; Jonathan Maltby, first lieutenant ; Daniel Phipps, second lieutenant ; Jacob White, third lieutenant ; James Morris, master ; John Crocker, surgeon ; Joseph Cheilds, boatswain ; Alexander P. Adams, gunner ; John Gaylord, carpenter ; Elisha Bennet, master's mate ; Samuel Roberts, master's mate ; Arthur Robertson, midshipman ; Thomas Fitzgerald, midshipman ; Peter Whitney, midshipman ; Jonathan Sabin, midshipman ; Samuel Stow, midshipman.

PETTY OFFICERS AND MEN.

Robert Halladay, gunner's mate ; Robert Saunders, quartermaster ; Noah Brooks, boatswain's mate ; Samuel Johnson, carpenter's mate ; Thomas Jones, sailmaker ; Robert Saunders, quartermaster ; Robert Upham, quartermaster ; Abijah Collins, boatswain's yeoman ; Silas Sandford, ship's steward ; John Brown, cook ; Bouton Knapp, carpenter's gang ; Nehemiah Stover, carpenter's gang ; Isaac Knapp, caulker ; Levy Holmes, caulker ; James Knapp, seaman ; Jedediah Norton, seaman ; James Ward,

seaman ; Jabin Sperry, seaman ; Philo Sperry, seaman ; Moses Cook, seaman ; William West, seaman ; John Stubbs, seaman ; William Turner, seaman ; John Huggins, seaman ; John Thompson, seaman ; Samuel Tory, seaman ; Robert Aitkins, seaman ; Thomas Johnson, seaman ; Thomas Bazzil, seaman ; William Putnam, seaman ; John Brice, seaman ; Thomas Wendiver, Jr., seaman ; Levy Hodge, seaman ; Aaron White, seaman ; Samuel Collins, seaman ; Ebenezer Miller, seaman ; Ebenezer Sage, seaman ; Nathan Gould, seaman ; Edmund Burr, seaman ; Samuel Adams, seaman ; Eber Sperry, seaman ; John Jeffrey, seaman ; Stephen Oliver, seaman ; James Jefferson, landsman ; William Baird Nicholson, landsman ; Truman Loveland, landsman ; Bowaro French, landsman ; Edmund Taylor, landsman ; James Richardson, landsman ; Richard Wear, landsman ; Joan (John ?) Emmitt, landsman ; Thomas Clark, landsman ; John Burnham, landsman ; Henry Peck, landsman ; Elisha White, landsman ; Samuel Wise, landsman ; Jonathan Setchell, landsman ; Thomas Scott, landsman ; George Stow, landsman ; Joseph Miller, landsman ; Joseph Scott, landsman ; Joseph Peck, landsman ; Justus Starr, landsman ; William Goodrich, landsman ; Samuel Denham, landsman ; Nathaniel Warren, landsman ; Jonathan Smith, landsman ; Elisha Forbes, landsman ; Christian Hanson, landsman ; William Presber, landsman ; Roger Robins, landsman ; Samuel Davis, landsman ; John Giles, landsman ; Mitchel Kingman, landsman ; Thomas Oliver, landsman ; William Taylor, landsman ; William Webb, landsman ; Asael Bush, landsman ; Daniel Peterson, landsman ; Josiah Wood, landsman ; Samuel Caverla, tailor ; Fromer Badger, barber ; Edward Prentis, boy ; Michael Creamer, boy ; Joseph Merrils, boy ; David Miller, boy ; Stephen Eglestone, boy ; Bennett Eglestone, boy ; John House, boy ; Richard Goff, boy ; John Doggett, boy ; ——— Brittian, boy.

In a list of men published as shipped by Benjamin Catlin, several of the names given in the preceding list are spelled differently. This list has the following names, Joseph Peck, Roger Robbins, John Giles, Mitchell Kingman, Samuel Davis, Thomas Clark, William Webb, John Ammut, Richard Wear, Asael Bush and James Richardson. It will be seen that an additional letter appears in the names of Robbins and Kingman, and Joan Emmitt becomes John Ammut.

LIST OF MEN SHIPPED IN CONNECTICUT FOR SIX MONTHS FOR THE TRUMBULL. NO RATING GIVEN.

James Holt, Peter Holt, William Fagan, Samuel Collard, Samuel Proctor, Elias Robbins, John Cole, Robert Babcock, James Palmer, Nathan Brand, Daniel Palmer, Peter Peters, Moses Palmer, Elihu Babcock, Asa Lewis, John Chester, Peleg Token, Edward Derrick, Richard Slater, Labeus Gavitt, Thomas Cook, Ward Bulkeley, Daniel Wheeler, David McKensey, William Bennett, John Perry, Boduel Huse, Robert P. Webber, Oliver Bradley, Titus Dutton, George Leonard, William Bidwell, Dixon Ewing.

NOTES TO ACCOUNT OF THE TRUMBULL.

(1.) Mr. Starr, Mr. Bill and Mr. Chapman were from New London.

(2.) The Watt was wrecked in September, 1780. Two accounts of the affair follow:

"NEW LONDON, SEPT. 22, 1780.—The ship Watts, going from New York to Newport, struck on Shagwamonuk reef, and sunk. Twenty-five men were drowned, among them being her Captain and Lieutenant."

"NEW YORK, SEPT. 20, 1780.—Last Wednesday, ship Watt, letter-of-marque, belonging to Liverpool, struck on the Half Moon shoal, Montauk Point, and in two hours sunk. Captain Coulthart and 20 of his men were drowned."

II.

THE CONFEDERACY.

The 36 gun ship assigned to Connecticut by the Continental Congress, to be built under the supervision of the State authorities, was built at Brewster Neck, the north part of Poquetaunock river, the master builder being Mr. Jedidiah Willett, of Norwich. Major Joshua Huntington having charge of her construction. This is the particular account given in notes of the time, the general account saying that she was built on the Thames, below Norwich, and launched in 1778.

The particulars of her building are not given, but in May, 1777, the General Assembly gave Major Huntington leave to cut locust timber for the trunnels of the ship from the farm in New London, late the property of Captain Oliver, deceased, and now

owned by Mr. Oliver, of Boston, or by Dr. Moffatt, both with the enemy. Her keel was ordered to be cut from timber on the confiscated farm in Salem, Connecticut, owned by William Browne, of Salem, Mass.

She was launched in November, 1778, and sailed from New London, May 1, 1779, under the command of Captain Seth Harding formerly of the State, but then of the regular Continental navy.

In October, 1779, she sailed from Philadelphia, bound for Europe, having on board the French minister, Mon. Gerard, and the Hon. John Jay, the United States minister to Spain.

Here there are two accounts, one by J. Raymond, which says that when on the banks of New Foundland, she rolled over and lost her masts, by which accident, Daniel McIntosh, of New London, was killed. That after the disaster, jury masts were rigged, and under these she cruised two months, outsailing other ships, and made a tolerable voyage.

Cooper says that she was dismasted to the east of Bermuda, that the accident was peculiar, spar following spar, until the ship lay like a log in the water, with even her bowsprit gone. The disaster was the result, doubtless, of a sudden slacking up of the rigging, which had been set up in the colder weather of the coast, caused by the change in tension consequent on running into a warmer latitude.

To continue Cooper's narrative, the Confederacy, after several anxious weeks, got into Martinique.

Her arrival there is chronicled in the Martinico Gazette for December 16, 1779, in the following notice :

"The Continental frigate Confederacy, 40 guns, Captain Harding, came into our road.—She left Philadelphia October 27, destined for France, met with a gale of wind on the banks of New Foundland, lost her masts, had six feet of water in the hold, and arrived in the midst of perils. The Count de Gerard late minister from the Court of France to the United States, and his Excellency, John Jay, who goes to represent the States at the Court of Madrid were on board. They sailed from Martinico for France, November 28th, in the French frigate *L'Aurore*."

From the time of her reaching Martinique, the Confederacy was employed in keeping open the communications between the United States, and the ports from which the supplies so needed by the army, were obtained. This was the duty employing many

of the large vessels left to the navy, in fact, all of them. Even the duty of convoying was some times varied by the transportation of such stores as there was an immediate demand for.

She went to Cape Francois early in 1781, and while on her return, June 22nd, she was chased, the enemy, a large ship, succeeding in getting alongside. Captain Harding had called his crew to quarters, and was ready to open fire, when the British ship ran out a lower tier of guns, and seeing that resistance was useless, he struck. Not only was the Confederacy hampered by a cargo of clothing and miscellaneous supplies for the army, but the British 74 had a frigate in company, which was rapidly closing when the American ship surrendered. A conflict would have caused an unnecessary loss of life, and the patriotism and courage of the American captain, and the valor of the American seamen, was too well established to need this.

In regard to the armament of the Confederacy, it is variously stated at 32, 36 and 40 guns. The British account of her capture says she then mounted 28 twelve and 8 six pounders, 36 guns. She was named the Confederate, taken into the English naval service, and sailed immediately after her capture as convoy for a fleet of transports bound home. Among the people under her care, were the crews of two New London privateers, prisoners. After reaching England, nothing more is known of her history.

There are two lists of crews of the Confederacy, both having many Connecticut names, and for that reason they are each given entire:

OFFICERS

Seth Harding, captain; Simon Goss, first lieutenant; Thomas Vaughan, second lieutenant; Stephen Gregory, third lieutenant; John Tanner, master; James Hayes, boatswain; Ebenezer Storer, carpenter.

PETTY OFFICERS AND MEN.

Edward Adams, John Ames, Simeon Ashbro, Gurdon Bill, William Beckwith, Thomas Bates, William Bell, Benjamin Bebee, Gideon Bebee, Jacob Brown, Elnathan Bordan, William Bury, Joseph Baker, James Brown, Thomas Bats, Rufus Ballard, Charles Brooks, Walter Beebe, Frederick Calkins, Frederick Curtis, Francis Clarrage, Levy Culver, Stephen Campen, John Cortney, Samuel Curtis, Dennis Cerrick, James Companon, Jehiel Comstock, Seth

Cavady, Curtis Cleveland, Alpheus Chappill, Silas Cleveland, Thomas Crandall, Jeremiah Connel, Edward Cleveland, Samuel Dennis, Jesse Daniels, Elijah Davish, Joseph Darling, Stephen Davis, James Elderkin, Frederick Elderkin, Benjamin Fuller, Elisha Fuller, Robert Frazer, Thomas Fardaban, Joshua Fox, Theophilus Fitch, John Frayzer, William Fish, Robert Fowler, William Fagee, John Gardiner, Christopher Giles, John Godale, John Griffing, Nathan Hinman, Phineas Hyde, Ebenezer Hyde, Thomas Hampton, Turtle Hunter, John Haley, John Haselton, John Healey, Thomas Holman, Samuel Huntington, Thomas Hendry, Jesse Icaisky, John Jacobs, Silas Jacobs, Ichabod Johnson, John Keis, Amos Latham, Peter Langster, John Lawrence, Hezekiah Lathrop, Joseph Lankett, William Marsh, David Mackintosh, Jr., Lewis Mory, William Mackey, Charles Miller, James McMullen, Thomas Martin, Joseph Miller, John Mooney, John McSmith, William Merrett, Daniel McCarthy, Harry Negro, Elisha Nichols, Jonathan Osborn, William Prolley, William Petley, Peter Pollon, Richard Pease, Jr., Jonas Pgee, Jedediah Post, Coms Peters, Morris Prestonhau, Edward Waterman Prince, Firtuno Quocoto, Pyram Ripley, Michael Ryan, Ebenezer Roth, John Ryan, George Ranold, Benjamin Richards, William Ross, Jedediah Richard, Oliver Rogers, John Rabey, Jonathan Roath, Samuel Roberts, Jeremiah Robins, John Robertson, James Storer, Abel Spicer, Charles Squires, Nathan Spicer, Joseph Smith, 1st, Joseph Smith, 2nd, John Smith, Nathaniel Swan, Jesse Sip, Ebenezer Storer, Amasa Simons, Jonathan Simons, William Stone, David Samson, John Sanders, Thomas Sullivan, James Sandling, John Silsby, John Sydleham, Sr, John Sydleham, Jr., Gideon St. John, John Tribby, Daniel Tweed, Solomon Tracy, David Tuthill, Ebenezer Touner, Joseph Tufts, Daniel Unchus, Jedediah Wiliams, George Worthylake, Ebenezer Wade, Peleck Willcocks. Joseph Willcocks, Nathaniel Willey.

In the other list, but three of the names given in the above appear, so that it seems the Confederacy had two crews. The second, or perhaps it might better be called the first list, is as follows:

OFFICERS.

John Wheatly, lieutenant; Jacob De Witt, lieutenant; Charles Fanning, ensign.

PETTY OFFICERS AND MEN.

Sergeant, Jonathan Pride ; Stephen Avery, Simeon Avery, Zacihcus Armstrong, Henry Abel, Theophilus Abel, Elias Brewster, Elijah Bentley, John Bishop, Nathaniel Billings, Benjamin Billings, Benjamin Brooks, Luther Burney, Enoch Baker, Benoni Condell, Cyprian Cook, Uriah Corning, John Cary, Richmon Crandall, Elijah Calkins, William Davis, John Davis, John H. Durkee, Roger Edgecomb, Joseph H. Edgerton, Elisha Fitch, Joseph Goveton, Joseph Griffin, John Gardiner, John Gleeson, Joseph Grumlet, John Hill, Joshua Hide, Elisha Hide, Levi Hibbard, Elisha Huntley, Thomas Hutchins, Frederick Huntington, Azariah Huntington, Andrew Huntington, John Hull, Jacob Hartshorn, Zephaniah Hatch, Samuel Kuzar, Enoch Kingsley, Jacob Kingsbury, Solomon Lathrop, Jedediah Lathrop, James Lathrop, Oliver Lathrop, Thomas Leach, Abraham Law, Daniel Ladd, Daniel Lester, Thomas Malcolm, Joshua Maples, James Norman, Frederick Niles, James Otis, Daniel Pride, Elisha Pride, George Pople, John Peterson, John Peck, Jedediah Post, Asa Palmer, Moses Porter, Nathan Parks, Richard Penhallow, Cyrus Quocheat, David Reed, Amos Reed, Asa Reed, Thomas Rice, Uriah Rogers, John Richardson, John Reynolds, Belcher Starkweather, Amos Smith, Irijah Sanger, David Ticknor, Daniel Tracy, Gustavus Wallbridge, Sylvanus Wells, William Watrus, Jedediah Williams, Simeon Williams, Solomon Williams, William Wheeler, Charles Woodworth, Joseph Waldo, Joshua Yeomans.

Of this list, John Gardiner, Jedediah Post and Jedediah Williams appear in that first given. Other notes show that seven of the men died in service, their names being Henry Able, Jacob Hartshorn, Daniel Pride, David Ticknor, John Cary, Benjamin Billings and Cyrus Quocheat. Eight names are recorded as discharged before the ship sailed. They are Nathaniel Billings, Frederick Niles, Samuel Kuzar, Joseph Waldo, Elisha Fitch, Andrew Huntington, Cyprian Cook and Elijah Calkins.

BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES
OF
CONNECTICUT REVOLUTIONARY NAVAL
AND
PRIVATEER OFFICERS.

DUDLEY SALTONSTALL.

Dudley Saltonstall was born in New London, September 8, 1738. He was grandson of Governor Gurdon Saltonstall, and early became a sailor, having charge of vessels previous to the last French Colonial war. During that struggle, April 17th, 1762, he was commissioned to command the letter-of-marque brigantine *Britannia*, to cruise against the enemies of England. Records of voyages to the West Indies and to Europe exist, and the Revolution found him ready for active naval service. He was the senior captain in the first Continental naval list, Ezek Hopkins being commissioned commander-in-chief, and was appointed to command the *Alfred*, the flag ship of the fleet. This was in December, 1775. The *Alfred* was a 24 gun ship, and in command of her, Captain Saltonstall took part in the expedition which resulted in the capture of New Providence. The expedition did not result as favorably as Congress had expected, and as a result, Commodore Hopkins was dismissed, and a new arrangement of the navy made, in which Captain Saltonstall appears as fourth on the list. Congress having ordered the construction of several frigates, two were assigned to Connecticut, and Captain Saltonstall was appointed to the *Trumbull*. This vessel did not get to sea till April, 1780, owing to the delay occasioned in crossing the Bar at the mouth of the Connecticut river, and before that Captain Saltonstall had been commissioned to the *Warren*, a

larger ship, and placed in command of the fleet gathered to act against the British posts on the Penobscot river. This, owing to the wide publicity given in the papers concerning its force, destination, and the like, was unsuccessful, Sir George Collier hemming it in the river with a superior fleet. The state of Massachusetts, which furnished the land forces, sought to make the officers of the Continental naval force liable for the failure of the expedition, and Commodore Saltonstall was dismissed, Congress following its usual precedent in such cases. The act was an injustice, for the action of Commodore Saltonstall lacked nothing in spirit or endeavor. He might have been liable to censure; he was not at fault because his force was inadequate; he did not deserve disgrace. But he was superior to his enemies in public spirit, for he did not let the matter keep him from entering heartily into the privateering enterprise then so common, and in a little time, was in command of the brig *Minerva*. In this vessel he captured the ship *Hannah*, and several other prizes, and all through the war manifested a patriotism that was striking and commendable. After the war, he engaged in mercantile adventures, and while in the West Indies, prosecuting these, died there in 1796.

ELISHA HINMAN.

Elisha Hinman, according to one report, was born in Southbury, Conn., and according to another, in Stonington. The date was March 9, 1734. He went to sea when 14, and made voyages to Europe and the West Indies, then the only marts open to the Colonists. On the breaking out of the Revolution, and the formation of the first naval force, he became an officer therein, though in what capacity, is uncertain. One account says that he commanded the *Cabot* in the New Providence expedition and that in the engagement with the *Glasgow*, he was wounded; but Cooper, in his history, gives the command of the *Cabot* in that expedition to Captain John B. Hopkins. That Hinman commanded the *Cabot* at one time, is evident, but the date may have been later. He afterward had charge of the *Providence*, 12, and the *Alfred*, 32, both Continental vessels. In the new arrangement of the naval list, Hinman was number 20 of the captains. There is no record of his service save in the *Alfred*, in which ship, in company with the *Raleigh*, he went to Europe for mili-

tary stores, which were obtained at L'Orient. They sailed for home in March, 1778, and were chased by the British ships *Ceres* and *Ariadne*, which succeeded in getting alongside of the *Alfred*, while the *Raleigh* was at a distance. Captain Hinman exchanged several broadsides with the enemy, but seeing that resistance was useless, struck. He was carried to England, but succeeded in escaping to France, and from that country, returned to America. Here a court martial exonerated him from blame for the loss of the *Alfred*, and no government vessel being ready for him, he took charge of several private armed craft, the ship *Dean*, 20, and the brig *Marquise De La Fayette*, 16, being among them. The last named was probably the privateer latest in commission of all the American cruisers. When the new navy of 1794 was formed, Captain Hinman was offered a commission and the command of the *Constitution*, but declined on account of age. He held some civil appointments under the government, and died, by one account in Stonington, by another, in New London, August 29th, 1807.

SETH HARDING.

Seth Harding, from all accounts that can be gathered, was a native of Norwich, but even the careful historian of that place, Miss Frances Manwaring Caulkins, fails to give any information concerning him. He was in command of privateers before the state commissioned him a captain, giving him the brig *Defence*. In this vessel he had a most notable encounter with two armed transports. The *Defence*, whose armament was 14 guns, left Plymouth, Mass., June 17th, and on getting out into the bay, heard cannonading in the distance. Making all sail, she fell in, about dusk, with some American schooners, which had been engaged in a running fight with two transports, whose force had proved too heavy for the light vessels. The British ships, after the encounter, had run into Nantasket Roads and anchored, and after consultation with the commanders of the schooners, Captain Harding ran in between the transports and anchored, being but pistol shot away. He then hailed, ordering the ships to surrender, and received a broadside in reply. A lively conflict ensued, which continued for an hour, when the British ships struck. The *Defence* had nine men wounded, and the transports lost 18 killed, besides many wounded, the prisoners amounting to

more than 200 of the finest troops sent to the country. The next morning, with the schooners still in company, the Defence captured another transport, with 100 more men of the same regiment. Captain Harding was next ordered to the ship *Oliver Cromwell*, in which he made some valuable prizes. He then entered the Continental service as captain of the frigate *Confederacy*, which he lost to the enemy. Cooper mentions that he was in command of the state brig *Tyrannacide*, 14, but he does not say to which state she belonged, or give any items of service. After his capture in the *Confederacy*, there is no mention of Captain Harding, though he was undoubtedly a brave, capable and enterprising officer.

TIMOTHY PARKER.

Timothy Parker was born on Cape Cod, Mass., about 1736, and early moved to Norwich, Conn., where he became a sailor, making voyages to the West Indies. He was a successful commander, and the breaking out of the Revolution found him in this calling. He remained in the merchant service after the beginning of hostilities, and in 1776, when returning from a voyage to the West Indies, he was captured and carried to New York. Here he suffered the hardships that fell to the lot of those who became prisoners, and for a long time. He was finally released, and in September, 1777, was commissioned as lieutenant on the *Oliver Cromwell*, the largest of the state cruisers of Connecticut. On the promotion of Captain Harding to the Continental navy, Captain Parker was given command of the *Oliver Cromwell*, and in her made several successful cruises, fighting a severe battle with the Admiral Keppel and *Cygnus*, the Defence, another Connecticut state cruiser, being in company. The British ships were captured, and several other armed vessels of the enemy fell as prizes to the skill, enterprise and seamanship of Captain Parker. In June, 1778, the *Oliver Cromwell* met the British frigate *Daphne*, and was obliged to surrender to superior force. The action reflected great credit on Captain Parker. He was again confined on one of the British prison ships, and there are two accounts of his release. One says that he escaped by way of Long Island, and thus reached his home in Norwich; but the other account says that Captain Parker and forty others of the crew of the

Oliver Cromwell were sent in, in a flag of truce exchange, August 22, 1778. Captain Parker was later in command of privateers, the last with which his name is associated being the Scourge, a 20-gun ship. After the war, he resumed service in the merchant marine, and died May 27, 1797. He was a brave man, a spirited and enterprising seaman, a thorough patriot, and a good citizen. His memory is an honor to his adopted state.

WILLIAM COIT.

William Coit was born in New London November 26, 1742. He was graduated at Yale college in the class of 1761, and was prominent in the patriot cause before the beginning of hostilities. He was in command of a company that answered to the Lexington alarm, marched with it to Boston, and took part in the battle of Bunker Hill. He was then given command of a schooner named the "Harrison," fitted out to cruise against the British ships that came into Massachusetts Bay, and while in this vessel, claimed to be the first man in the United States service to turn his majesty's bunting upside down. In 1776 he was appointed to the command of the Connecticut state ship Oliver Cromwell, but made no cruise in her. Later in the war, he was in command of privateers, and in 1781 was taken prisoner and carried to New York. He removed from New London to the south, where several of his children had made their homes, and died there about 1802.

MOSES TRYON.

Moses Tryon commanded a privateer in the Revolution, and after the war, was in charge of vessels in the West India trade, sailing from New London. The place of his birth is unknown. When the war with France was going on, he was commissioned a captain in the regular service, and given command of the Connecticut, a 22 gun ship, built at Chatham, on the Connecticut river. He seems to have made but one cruise in her, in which he captured a French privateer of 12 guns, and 80 men, named the Conquest of Italy. He was in the merchant service again in 1801, and died at Wethersfield in 1818, aged 67 years.

CHARLES BULKLEY.

Charles Bulkley was born in Colchester, December 19, 1752. He was descended from the Rev. Gershom Bulkley, second minister of New London, through the Rev. John Bulkley of Colchester a noted divine in the early days of the 18th century, and Major Charles Bulkley. He was connected with the Prentis and Latimer families of New London. Major Bulkley settled in New London when Captain Charles Bulkley was two years of age, purchasing what was known as the Fosdick property on Bank street, beginning about where the stores of Darrow & Comstock and Beckwith & Keefe now stand, and running south. Captain Bulkley was soon attracted to the sea, and when the Revolution broke out, was returning from a voyage to the West Indies. Off Montauk Point the vessel was boarded by a tender of the British frigate *Rose*, Captain Wallace, who informed the crew of the battle of Lexington, and that they were a prize. Transferring some of the crew of the American sloop to his vessel, the captain of the tender placed a prize crew on board, and ordered them to carry her to the *Rose*. Captain Bulkley was one of the men left on board the sloop, and a boat coming near from the shore, he sprang into the sea, was picked up by the boat, and escaped in it to Block Island. Here he obtained volunteers to man two boats, and with these gave chase to the sloop, overhauled and recaptured her, and the next day she was brought into New London and delivered up to her owners, the prize crew from the British ship being the prisoners. Captain Bulkley now joined the navy, and was a midshipman in the fleet of Commodore Ezek Hopkins, and was distinguished for the manner in which he commanded his gun in the battle with the *Glasgow*. He remained several years in the naval service, serving with Paul Jones and Elisha Hinman, being a lieutenant on the *Alfred* when she was captured. He escaped from his British prison, where he suffered great hardships, to France, digging his way out by a tunnel under the walls. On reaching America, he took command of a privateer, and was in charge of vessels of this kind till peace was declared. He then returned to the merchant service, but when the war of 1812 came on, his privateer life recalled him to the more exciting service, and he took command of the *Mars*, a privateer ship, serving in her with varied success. When the war closed, he became a

merchant, his store being on Bank street, New London. He died in 1848. Captain Bulkley was one of the most enterprising commanders of his day, and his sea life was a continual round of exciting adventures. A complete record of it would make a most entertaining book.

DANIEL STARR.

Daniel Starr was born in New London, December 26th, 1741. He became a seafaring man, and was appointed second lieutenant of the frigate Trumbull, in which ship he met his death in the celebrated encounter with the Watt, June, 1780. He was a brave officer, and during the inactivity of the Trumbull, owing to her inability to get over the Bar at the mouth of the Connecticut, sought service in a privateer, of which he was commander.

JOHN HALLAM.

Captain John Hallam, of Stonington, entered the army at the beginning of the Revolution, but was discharged in 1776. He then served in the privateer Beaver, 12 guns, Captain William Havens; Dean, 20 guns, Captain Noah Schofield; Weazel, 12 guns, Captain Gilbert Fanning; Hancock, 10 guns, Captain Elisha Hinman; Hapton Packet, 10 guns, Captain Toby. He was engaged in the capture of six British privateers and letters-of-marque, three of which carried 12 guns each, and was captain of marines on the Weazel, being once wounded.

NATHANIEL FANNING.

Nathaniel Fanning, born in Stonington, Conn., was a midshipman on the Bon Homme Richard in her memorable battle with the Serapis, and was commended in the following manner:

"I hereby certify that Nathaniel Fanning, of Stonington, State of Connecticut, has sailed with me in the station of midshipman eighteen months, while I commanded the Good Man Richard, until she was lost in the action with the Serapis, and in the Alliance and Ariel frigates. His bravery on board the first mentioned ship, in the action with the Serapis, a king's ship of 50 guns, off Flamborough Head, while he had command of the main-top, will, I hope, recommend him to the notice of Congress, to the line of promotion, with his other merits.

JOHN PAUL JONES.

L'Orient, (in France,) December 17th, 1780."

Nathaniel Fanning died, a lieutenant in the United States navy, in command of the U. S. Naval station at Charleston, S. C., on the 30th of September, 1805, of yellow fever.

GILES HALL.

Giles Hall belonged in Wallingford, but the date of his birth and death is unknown. He was first lieutenant of the brig *Defence*, the sole man-of-war of the Connecticut colony previous to the Revolution, as early as 1757. This, no doubt, was the cause of his being made the senior commander of the Revolutionary state navy. His services in command of the *Minerva* were not of a nature to call attention to him, though this was more the result of circumstances than of personality, for he was undoubtedly a capable, if not a successful officer. He is supposed to be a brother of Lyman Hall, the signer of the Declaration of Independence from Georgia.

SAMUEL SMEDLEY.

Samuel Smedley was a native of Fairfield. His command of the state vessel, *Defence*, is all that is known of him, though there are records, doubtless, that may give more of his history.

ROBERT NILES.

Robert Niles belonged in Groton, and while his command of the state cruiser, *Spy*, is all that is now known of him, his enterprise and daring in this service proved him a good and serviceable man. In his action with the *Dolphin*, a heavier, better armed and manned vessel than his own, and in his escape from the British fleet blockading the coast of France, when the *Spy* carried the certified copy of the Treaty to that country, he showed both the courage and capacity, that, in a larger field, would have brought more fame. He died in Norwich in 1818.

RICHARD LAW.

Richard Law was born in New London, March 5th, 1763. He entered Yale at the age of twelve, but left the college when the war broke out, and was appointed a midshipman, and attached to the *Trumbull*. Before she could get ready for sea, he made a

cruise in the *Lady Spencer*, a New London privateer, commanded by Captain Michael Melally. He returned to the *Trumbull*, and was in the famous battle with the *Watt*, and also in the action when the *Trumbull* surrendered to the *Iris* and *Monk*. He remained in the naval service to the close of the war, going, as did many of the regular officers, into the privateers, that made up for a lack of regular vessels, his last service being as second lieutenant of the brig *Marquis De LaFayette*, Captain Elisha Hinman. After the Revolution, he entered the merchant service, but became a master commandant in the regular navy during the troubles with France in 1797 and 1800, having command of the brig *Richmond*. He retook a number of vessels captured by the French, but had no chance to show his previous training in battle. In 1801 he left the navy and returned to the merchant service. He was the first American captain to show the colors of his country on the lower Mississippi. He was afterwards in the European, and specially the Baltic trade, and later became attached to steamboat service on the Sound. In 1822 he was made collector of the port of New London, holding the position eight years. He died on the 19th of December, 1845, after a life replete with stirring adventure and useful service.

BENJAMIN STARK.

Benjamin Stark was born in New London in 1760. His father was a seafaring man, and the son followed the same calling. Captain Stark was descended from the first settler of the name, a soldier under Major John Mason in the Pequot war. He was connected with the Appleton, Shapley and Brewster families, and therefore of Mayflower stock. The Revolution early offered opportunities, which he quickly accepted, and while we find his name mentioned but once as an officer, in the case of the privateer *Eliza*, Captain William Leeds, it is more than probable that he served as midshipman on some of the Continental vessels, and in official capacity on other privateers. Captain Stark married the eldest daughter of John Bloyd, a man noted for his probity and pious character, and long connected with the Episcopal church in its earliest days in New London. She was a spirited and beautiful woman, and the son of this marriage, another Captain Benjamin Stark, showed the strain of his ancestors, in the

bloody battle fought by the General Armstrong, privateer, against a British fleet. This action took place in the neutral port of Fayal, September 26 and 27, 1814. The British fleet consisted of the Plan-tagenet, 74; Rota, 44, and Carnation, 18, and carried more than 2,000 men. The General Armstrong carried 7 guns and 90 men. Her commander was Captain Samuel C. Reid, and Captain Stark was sailing master. In the action the British loss was 120 killed, 180 wounded; the American, two killed, seven wounded.

The Revolutionary Captain Stark died in 1799. The name is still an honored one in the city, being carried by his grandson, the Hon. Benjamin Stark.

GURDON BILL.

Gurdon Bill was born in Norwich, August 26, 1757. He was of an adventurous disposition, and the sea with its stir and change led him to become a sailor. He was in the privateer service, the family tradition being that he commanded one of these enterprising craft. It is also in the record that he served, most likely as midshipman, on a regular ship. Immediately after the war, he was in command of a vessel in the West India trade. Later, in 1798, he was in a vessel captured by the French. He entered the navy as a lieutenant, and served with Commodore Truxton. He resigned from the navy, and retired from sea life in 1801, and died in 1815.

AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
OLD HOUSES OF NEW LONDON,
BY
JAMES LAWRENCE CHEW.



THE OLD HOUSES OF NEW LONDON.

It has seemed to me that it might be well to commit to paper some facts and incidents relating to the older landmarks of this my native town, more especially since they are being swept away by the exigencies of commerce, and the busy hand of the iconoclast.

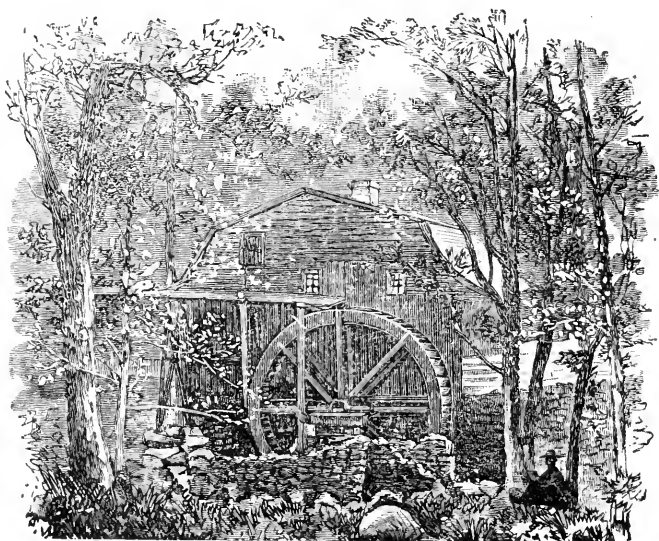
The words of our honored poet are, it is feared, expressive of the conditions under which we live:

“ Our London is forever new,
We’ve nothing old ! Our parchment proofs,
Our red ink prints, our damask woofs,
All perished with our gable roofs,
When Arnold burnt the town.”

Time’s effacing fingers are fast obliterating all the inanimate memorials of the past; yet I can but think that we have a larger legacy, in houses of respectable age and historic associations, than we are apt to imagine. The facts which are here noted down are gathered from varied, but not discordant sources. I acknowledge my indebtedness to a somewhat retentive memory, and to the dictum of traditional and recorded history. If errors may appear, I trust the reader will not be hypercritical, but remember that the writer is a man of business affairs, and that to do justice to the subject requires a local acquaintance, and an aptitude of expression, to which the author of this sketch can make but little pretension.

We are living very near the early settlement of the town when we consider that within the memory of the writer, a middle-aged man, one of the six fortified houses erected in 1676 was torn

down to allow for the erection on its site of the present residence of Mrs. Sidney Miner, on Main street. The old house I refer to was known as the "Wheat house," removed in 1851, the timber for which was grown on the spot. Barber, in his history of Connecticut, published in 1836, speaks of the last house of the original settlers on Cape Ann Lane as having been taken down only twelve years since, within the age of many now living. But this is a digression, as I intend in this article to confine myself to houses still extant.



THE OLD TOWN MILL.

The dwelling corner Main and Douglass streets now occupied by James E. Goddard, was built in the year 1758 by Rev. Mather Byles, pastor of the First Congregational church from the above date till 1768. Mr. Byles was grandson of Increase Mather. At the time of his settlement he was only 23 years of age. In 1768 he conveyed this house to Dr. Moffatt, the English controller of the customs. Possibly one reason why this house escaped the torch of the incendiary, at the time of Arnold's raid, may be found in the fact that Dr. Moffat was an officer of the English government. It is a sufficient explanation to say that the ruthless

invader turned down Hallam street to Beach, now Water street, and that no houses, as far as is known, were burnt between this street and State.

The double house No. 49 Main street, on the east side next north of Mr. Goddard's, was known to our older residents as the Fox Tavern. Any resident of seventy years ago can remember the swinging sign, representing a fox grasping for a bunch of grapes. I regret that I cannot give the age of this house, which antedates the Revolution. The man whose name gave distinctive character to the house was Ezekiel Fox, whose daughter married Colonel Increase Wilson. Mr. Fox died as recently as 1844, aged 88 years.

The General Burbeck house, No. 32 Main street, was erected in the year 1735. It was purchased by Brigadier-General Burbeck, I think, in 1815; at all events, just after the close of the war of 1812. The house has been in possession of the family for seventy-five years. General Burbeck was a captain of artillery in the Revolutionary war. The noble trees which stand in front of the place, are often spoken of as the "Four Sisters." They were planted in 1812 by James Baxter, father of Dr. Bartholomew Baxter, at one time in the drug business with Dr. Seth Smith. Mr. Baxter named them Johanna, Catherine, Sophia and Sarah, after his four daughters.

The double house No. 59 Main street, on the east side familiarly known as the Belden house, possesses considerable interest. In 1756 Washington, then only 24 years of age, spent the night there, both going and returning from Boston. The house at that time was occupied by Captain Nathaniel Coit, the grandfather of the late R. N. Belden. The place at the time of Washington's visit was known as the tavern of the "Red Lion." I learn from Irving's history of Washington, that at this time he was accompanied by two officers and three colored servants. This house was spared on the 6th of September, 1781, by the urgent solicitations of Molly Coit, whose father was lying sick at the time.

The building now known as Avery's stable, corner Main and Church streets, was built for an Episcopal church. The cornerstone was laid on the 4th of July, 1785. It is situated on land known as part of the Edgecomb homestead. This was the second building known as an Episcopal church, the McSparran church

which stood near the liberty pole on the Parade, having been burnt four years earlier. This church was sold to the Universalists in 1847 for \$3,500.

The dwelling No. 42 Main street, the present residence of William A. Holt, was built in 1750 as an Episcopal parsonage, on land given by Samuel Edgecomb, the title to the property not being vested in the church, but in "the society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts for the benefit of the church in New London." It was first occupied in 1751 by Rev. Jno. Graves, rector of the church on the Parade.

In passing, I may say that the post-office at one time was located on the site of Mr. Eldridge Beckwith's house, next north of this house. The large double dwelling on the east side of Bradley street, No. 39, second house north of John, generally known as the Packwood house, deserves mention. It is very old. It was purchased in 1736 by Dr. Giles Goddard, one of our old-time physicians. He made the purchase of Jonathan Gardiner, who married the daughter of Rev. Eliphalet Adams, the pastor of the First Congregational church from 1708 to 1753. For the above facts I am indebted to an article in the paper called *The Repository*, published in this city in 1860. Dr. Goddard sold the house in 1770 to Samuel Powers. From an advertisement in *The Gazette* it appears, at a later period, as bounded by three streets, presumably Bradley, Bailey's or Jeffrey's hill, now John street and Beach, now Water street. Within the memory of many now living it was the residence of Captain Acors Barns.

The large brick house on the north side of John street, just opposite to Potter, was erected in 1800 by John Woodward. In 1807 it was sold to John Wood; from this fact the name of the street is no doubt derived. In the year 1835, a select private school was kept in this house by Miss Abby Wood, assisted by Miss Tuttle, the daughter of Rev. Mr. Tuttle, of Ledyard.

It may safely be asserted that in no such limited space can so many houses that antedate the Revolution be found as on Bradley street, formerly known as Ginger Bread Lane, between State and John streets. It is a familiar fact to our older residents that this part of the street was then known as "Widow's Row," and was spared from the torch of the incendiary at the time of Arnold's raid for reasons implied by the name. I have endeavored in this

article to designate the houses in such a way as to render their location an easy matter to those having only the most slender knowledge of the geography of our city.

I walked through Bradley street a few days since with an old-time resident, a portion of whose early life was spent upon this street. From him I learned that the house now known as No. 17 was at the time about which we speak occupied by Widow Rice. No. 13 was then known as Widow Powers'. No. 21 as Widow Lewis', and No. 19 as Widow Miller's. Joshua Potter, the grandfather of the late Frank Potter, whose store was at No. 8 Bank street, occupied the house now known as No. 11. In conversation with a gentleman a few days since, I learn that Joshua Potter, on the direful 6th of September, was caring for a wounded British soldier, and that the general caused to be written on the door of his home in chalk the words, "General Arnold's orders are to spare this house," whereupon Mr. Potter, in consideration for the helpless condition of his neighbors, hastened to write the same words on the doors of several houses in the immediate locality.

Either for this or some other reason, these houses did not share in the general conflagration. On the east side of Bradley street, opposite the vacant lot in the rear of the Savings bank, the reader may have noticed an old house, with the entrance on the south side, which, I am told, was the residence of Thaddeus Brooks during the Revolutionary war. In this house Sally, the daughter of Mr. Brooks, was killed by lightning on the 22nd of August, 1786, while in the act of closing the window. Her funeral sermon was preached next day in the old Saltonstall meeting house, on what is now known as Bulkeley square. This was the last service held in that church. The writer can just remember the death by lightning of the daughter of Captain Ezra Keeney, near the lighthouse, in 1847. Between 1786 and 1847, no death from this cause can be recalled in this city.

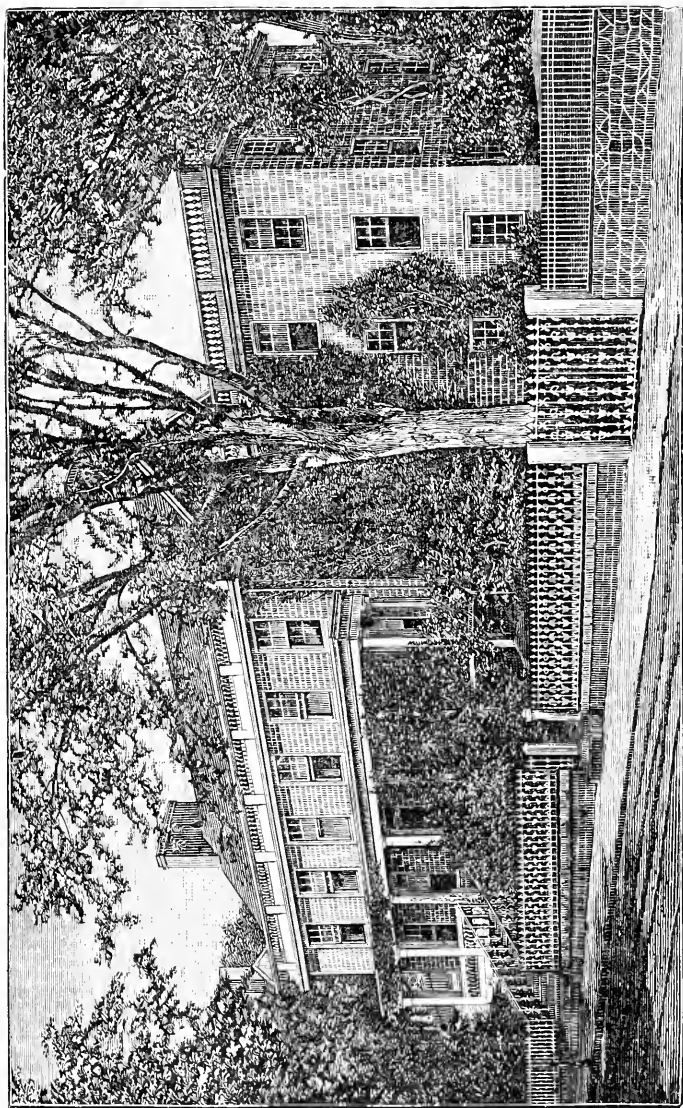
The double house, with front piazza, No. 138 Main street, west side, is of very considerable age. It was originally known as the John Prentice house. In this house Captain Richard Law, well known to our older residents, was born, in the year 1762. It was built many years before this date. In more recent times it has been the home of Lewis Allen, father of F. L. Allen; Rev. Dr. Field, at the time of his settlement over the First Congregational church, in 1856, and Captain John French.

The house corner Richards and Main streets, now occupied by John Spalding, was built in the year 1765. At the time the town was burnt, it was known as the residence of Guy Richards. The house was marked for destruction, but was saved by the entreaties of those who attended on Captain Richards' daughter, who at the time was very sick in the house. Three stores belonging to Mr. Richards, on the east side of Main street, were, however, destroyed.

The residence of the late J. P. C. Mather, No. 114 Main street, was built since the burning of the town. I cannot give the exact date, but about 1791. It was erected by Mr. Arnold, great-grandfather of Mr. A. H. Chappell, of our city. Mr. Arnold lived here only about a year, when he removed to Hallowell, Me. Not long after the house was sold to Mr. Marvin Wait, father of John T. Wait, of Norwich. In this house our ex-congressman was born, August 27th, 1811. The site on which this house stands is historic. Here Mr. Saltonstall, pastor of the First Congregational church, and afterwards governor of the colony, erected his house, about the year 1691. Mr. Saltonstall opened the Codner highway, afterwards known as Feather Bed lane, and now as Stony hill. The house was afterwards the residence of his son, General Gurdon Saltonstall, and was destroyed in the great conflagration of the 6th of September.

The dwelling on the west side of Main street, next north of the residence of Mrs. Sidney Miner, was built in the year 1756. This house was built by Nathaniel Shaw, expressly for the occupancy of his daughter, the wife of the Rev. Ephraim Woodbridge, who was ordained over the First Congregational church in 1769. Woodbridge street, in the lower part of our city, was named after this gentleman. After the death of Mr. Woodbridge, in 1775, this house was purchased by Edward Hallam, and for a long time was known as the Hallam house, and, again, as the "House of the long piazza." This distinctive feature of the house has long since been removed.

On the north side of Shapley street, I think the first house above the Miner brick block, stands the house in which Adam Shapley died. He was of an old family in New London, but a reference to our City Directory will show the name to be extinct. He lived on a street which bears his name, and on which several houses which he owned are still standing. I wonder if many of



WASHINGTON'S OLD HEADQUARTERS.

our citizens, who have occasion to pass through this precipitous and somewhat uninviting street, are familiar with the history of the gallant Adam Shapley, who at the time of the attack was commander at Fort Trumbull, but who, on finding that the enemy had gained the rear end of the fort, rallied his men and retreated to Fort Griswold, where he was fatally wounded. He was carried to his home on Shapley street, where he languished for five months and died. I may incidentally remark that Shapley street was opened in 1746.

I suspect that few of the crowds who daily throng the chief street of our city realize that the building next east of the Crocker house, in which are located the stores of Mr. Tate and Mr. Thomas, is the same building in the attic of which, at the time of the Revolution, Timothy Green published *The Gazette*, a paper issued from 1763 to 1844. The writer has a number of the issues not far from the earlier date. The house about which I speak was fired by the torch of the incendiary, but with little damage. Green street was not laid out till six years later, or in 1787, and derived its name because cut through this property.

The grounds and dwelling of N. S. Perkins, Bank street, deserve attention. In 1734, Captain Nathaniel Shaw purchased of George Denison, of Westerly, part of what was then known as the Picket house lot, through which, in 1745, Brewer street, then known as Picket street, was opened. The present house was built about 1755, out of stone blasted out of a ledge on which the house stands. On the 9th of April, 1776 (the brigade under General Green being here, on the way from Boston to New York), General Washington visited New London for a second time, and remained over night in this house. Lafayette also visited this house in the year 1824.

So much has been written about the Town mill, that I will simply record its erection in 1650. The dwelling adjacent, now the property of C. A. G. Lewis, was built by John Still Winthrop, the great grandson, I think, of Governor John Winthrop, and must have been built prior to 1776, since this year was the date of Mr. Winthrop's death.

The residence of E. L. Palmer, on Broad street, known as the "Mount Vernon place," was built, about 1796 by General Jedediah Huntington, the first collector of the port under the federal government. He was an officer of the army during the Revolu-



"MT VEENON," CORNER BROAD AND HUNTINGTON STREETS.

tionary period, and, I have seen it stated, survived all of the officers of that period, excepting General Stark, the hero of the battle of Bennington.

The dwelling corner Federal and Union streets, now occupied by Mrs. Chappell, was built in 1785. Older residents generally speak of it as the Denison house. It may be of interest to note that Right Rev. Bishop Seabury, D.D., bishop of Connecticut and Rhode Island, died in this house, February 28, 1796. At this period the house was the residence of Roswell Saltonstall, a warden of St. James parish. After a tour of visiting, Bishop Seabury remained to take tea at the Saltonstall's house. When he had risen from the tea-table he fell, with an attack of apoplexy, and soon expired. I gather the above from "Annals of St. James Church," published in 1873. Shortly after the year 1800, this house became the residence of Elisha Denison, the grandfather of the late Rev. Joseph Hurlbut.

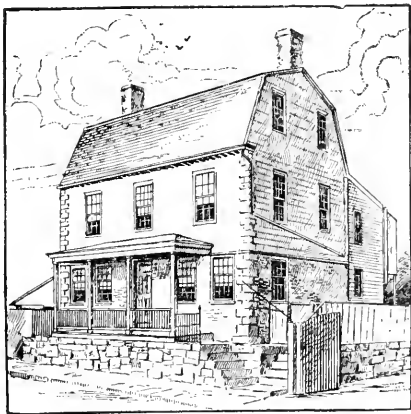
The dwelling No. 6 Shapley street, known as the Dennis homestead, was built in 1782, one year after the town was burned. It was first occupied by William Briggs, whose daughter married Major Henry Dennis in 1807. Major Dennis lived here till his death. Mrs. M. E. Kellogg, his daughter, is the present occupant. The house may, therefore, be said to have been in the Dennis family for 109 years.

On the west side of Union street, next to the Second Baptist church, stands a house which, in 1774, was a school-house on State street, about where the post-office now is. This was before Union street was opened on the south of State street, which was not till 1786. Nathan Hale, the martyr spy of the Revolution, was its first preceptor, and held that office till 1775, when he left to enter the army. The school-house was moved to its present location and placed on a high brick foundation in 1830.

The commanding structure corner of Masonic and Union streets, now the Smith Memorial Home, was built in 1799 as a Masons hotel by the trustees of Union lodge, No. 31. It was sold to William P. Cleveland in 1808.

The dwelling on Post hill, generally known as the Danforth house, is one of the oldest. It is sometimes called the Brooks house, from having been the residence of Jonathan Brooks, who died in 1848. A gentleman with whom I conversed the other day called it the Bruen place, from the fact, I suppose, that Obadiah

Bruen, New London's second town clerk, who was elected to office in 1651, owned a large tract of land which is now covered by this property. Post hill derives its name from Richard Post, one of the earliest settlers, who, about 1650, was granted a house lot on this part of Williams street. I may also add that Vauxhall street was so called from a place of entertainment kept on it by Thaddeus Brooks. Years since the intersection of the latter street with Williams was known as Pound corner, because here the cattle pound was located; but to return to the subject. Several wounded soldiers were carried into the Danforth house when Colonel Upham took command of the hill and directed his fire against the shipping in the harbor on the eventful 6th of September. I have been told by a former resident of the house that the bloodstains were visible on the floor at the time of his occupancy of the house, and could not be erased. In this connection it may be said that the first house burnt at the time of Arnold's raid was that of Pickett Latimer, on Vauxhall street, just opposite the residence of ex-Governor Waller. The well and a portion of the foundation of this house are at present visible, or, at least, were easily recognized a few years since.



NATHAN HALE SCHOOL.

The house on the east side of the Norwich turnpike, now occupied by Abram Bragaw, is of great age. John Hallam occupied the place when, in 1792, he was elected first cashier of the Union bank. On this site stood the residence of Rev. Gershom

Bulkeley, the second pastor of the First Congregational church, whose settlement began in 1661, and lasted till 1667.

I can think of but few families that have occupied the same premises for a greater length of time than did the Starr family on the west corner of Bank and Pearl streets. Captain Jonathan Starr settled here in 1743, and till the death of his great grandson, Jonathan, August 9th, 1887, the place was the residence of the family for four generations or 143 years.

The building now occupied by M. M. Comstock, Jr., as a store, at No. 22 Green street, was built in 1799 for a Female academy. The school was in existence from this date till 1834, and for a considerable portion of this time was under the charge of Rev. Bethel Judd. Mr. Judd was rector of St. James church from 1819 to 1832. The building, at the time referred to, was situated in the centre of the lot, quite a distance from the street. In 1834, the year in which the Female academy, now the residence of Mrs. Lewis, next the court-house, was built, this building was sold and moved up to the line of Green street.

The Manwarring house on the hill of that name, was erected shortly after 1800, but the place derives its interest from the fact that, on the 3rd of November, 1664, the house plot and 11 acres of land were bought by Oliver Manwarring, and that the plot and garden are still in the possession of a descendant in a direct male line from Oliver. The present house was built by Christopher, the father of the late Dr. Manwarring.

The double house on the east side of Main street, corner Norwich road, known as the Dodge house, was built in the last century. The Rev. Nehemiah Dodge, who was pastor of the First Baptist church from 1816 to 1821, kept a tavern here for many years, known as the Dodge tavern. In 1823 Mr. Dodge left the Baptist denomination and embraced Universalist principles.

The reader may be interested in a few facts relating to the double house which stands on an eminence next south of the residence of the late J. P. C. Mather on Main street. This house was built in 1767, by Colonel Jonathan Latimer, for the occupancy of his son, Robert Latimer. Near the close of the last century it was purchased by Thomas Shaw, and presented to the First Congregational church as a parsonage. It was occupied as such for fifty years, and sold by the Ecclesiastical society in 1850 for the sum

of \$2,200. In this house Dr. Abel McEwen passed about twenty of his long pastorate of fifty-three years.

This article would be incomplete without some allusion to the Hempstead house, and yet so much has been written about it that I fear it may prove a twice-told tale. I cannot, therefore, hope to add anything to the general fund of information. The age of the house, as determined from the "Hempstead Diary," is 213 years. From this it will appear that it was built in 1678. It was erected at the head of Bream's cove. The house was fortified against the Indians; and being entailed property, has ever remained in the possession of the descendants of Sir Robert Hempstead, the first occupant. Joshua Hempstead, who kept the noted Hempstead diary, died in 1758.



THE OLD HEMPSTEAD HOUSE.

The old stone house, corner Hempstead and Truman streets, is one of the oldest in town. It was built, I am told, by some Huguenots. The late Miss Nancy Hempstead supposed it was built about 200 years ago. In 1760 it was the property of Nathaniel Hempstead. Daniel B. Hempstead, who died January 12,

1852, the father of D. B. Hempstead, late in the jewelry business on Bank street, was born in this house in 1785.

The building corner of Methodist and Washington streets now occupied, in part, by a saloon was the first Methodist church built in this city. It was erected in 1798 on what was then known as Golden Hill, on the site of the present residence of the late Hon. Nathan Belcher. Bishop Asbury was present at the dedication exercises. It was sold and removed to its present location in 1816. Methodist street at this time was known as Valley street. In 1818 a second Methodist church was built on the site of Mr. Belcher's, which was destroyed by fire in 1853.

The house on the southwest corner of State and Union streets, now occupied by William Wilson, was built many years before the war. At the time of the burning of the town it was the home of Captain Elisha Hinman. The reason the house was saved from the general destruction may be found in the fact that Mrs. Hinman had long been an acquaintance of Benedict Arnold, and as the general rode down State street on the morning of the 6th of September, he halted in front of this house to recognize Mrs. Hinman, who was standing at one of the upper windows. Arnold had some conversation with Mrs. Hinman, and promised her protection so far as her dwelling and its inmates were concerned. In order the better to enforce his orders, he remained the greater part of the day in the immediate neighborhood, and from his position on horseback watched the terrible struggle on Groton Heights. As the buildings at this time were but few and scattered, this could easily have been done. Mr. Trumbull, the artist, whose work adorns the rotunda of the capital at Washington, painted for Thomas Day, a relative of the family, this scene, for which he paid \$7,000. The picture is now in possession of Mr. Day at his residence in Bergen Point, N. J. About the year 1825 Colonel Increase Wilson, whose residence up to this time had been 30 Main street, bought this property and resided here till his death, December 18th, 1867.

In the brick building, now a tenement house, on the west side of Water street, second house below Hallam, the Union bank commenced business in the year 1792, under the corporate name of the Bank of New London and Norwich, but very shortly afterwards changed to its present name, which is expressive of the conditions under which it was organized. Years after J. and D. Hinsdale,

who carried on a very extensive trade with the West Indies, and who constantly employed thirteen vessels in their line of business, had their offices here. I will note, in passing, that the building at present next north of the one about which I speak, viz., corner of Water and Hallam streets, was sixty or seventy years ago the home of Captain Stevens Rogers, who enjoyed the distinction of being the first sailing master to cross the Atlantic in a vessel propelled by steam. This was accomplished by Captain Rogers in 1819, while an officer of the steamship Savannah.

The old house on the corner of Town hill and Cape Ann Lane, known as the Betsey Coit place, now turned into stores, was fortified against the enemy on the 6th of September, 1781. The house was visited by the troops as they came up the Browns gate road to enter the town, and food was demanded of the family, who, at the time, consisted of a widow, by the name of Lewis, in very necessitous circumstances. The house was saved from destruction simply because of the impoverished condition of its occupants.

The house known as the Winthrop place, on the northeast corner of Huntington and Federal streets, last occupied by Dr. Fuller, was built in 1787, and was, I think, first occupied by Mrs. Mary Parkin, the widow of Richard W. Parkin. It was the residence of William H. Winthrop, the son-in-law of Mr. Parkin, from the time of his marriage till his death, September 3d, 1860; but it should be said that a portion of this time was spent on Fishers Island, which for 225 years was one of the Winthrop possessions.

Mr. Winthrop was of an honored family, having been the great-great-grandson of Governor John Winthrop, Jr., who founded our town.

The Sistare house on the Old Fort road was built by Joseph Chew, who came from Virginia to settle in New London prior to 1750. Mr. Chew was cousin to two Presidents of the United States, James Madison and Zachary Taylor. Gabriel Sistare came to this country in 1771 and shortly after his arrival the house about which we speak, came into the possession of the Sistare family, Mr. Gabriel Sistare having married a daughter of Mr. Chew.

The building on Federal street, known as the St. James Parish House, was built in 1792 by Captain Giles Mumford, who died in the island of Trinidad in 1796. His widow married Dr. Simon

Wolcott, for 30 years a very prominent physician. Dr. Wolcott occupied this home till his death, April 7, 1809. Subsequent to this period the house has been the residence of Dr. S. H. P. Lee and in 1849 and for several years after was the Federal street hotel, kept by the late H. S. Crocker. Noyes Billings also resided here. The house No. 17 Truman street, both ends, built of brick, is supposed to be at least 150 years of age. Christopher Culver, the grandfather of Christopher Culver, of 110 Pequot avenue, purchased this property of Lydia Beebe in 1784, and it is still in possession of Mr. Culver's family.

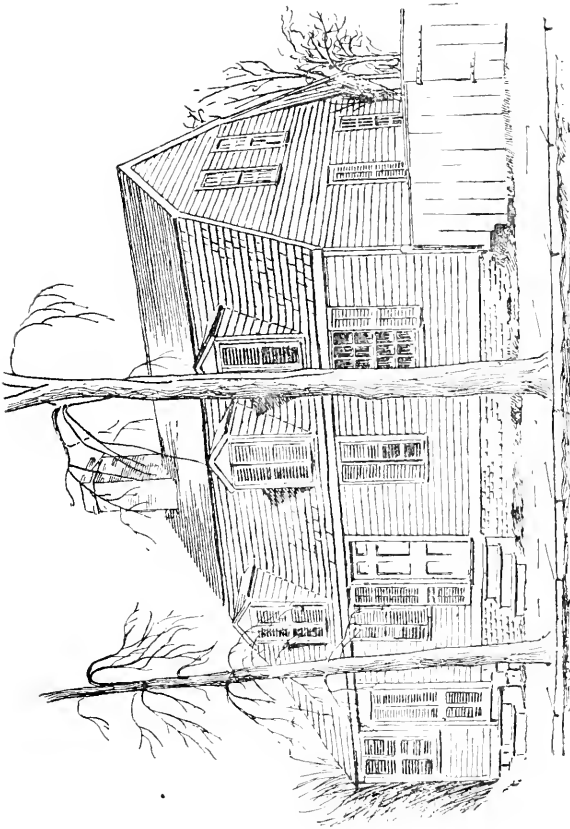
No. 13 Truman street, on the east side, the present residence of Miss Elizabeth Williams, is mentioned in a deed of August 12th, 1793, as the property of Thomas Shaw. This house was at one time the residence of Daniel Shaw. At a comparatively recent date it was the home of Dr. Dow, who taught school in New London for 40 years.

The Robinson house, so called, on the east side of the Browns-gate road, now Ocean avenue, was erected by Judge Harris in 1695. A former resident of the house informs me that the date on the chimney 1697 is incorrect. The house was built of the timber that grew on the premises. If I have been rightly informed, Judge Harris was a descendant of Walter Harris, the first of that name in New London, and the party referred to by Miss Caulkins as having, in 1652, accepted a house lot at the south end of the town near Green Harbor, now the Pequot road.

The small gambrel roofed house on the south side of Man-warring hill, corner of Mountain avenue, is over 150 years of age. In this house Henry Hempstead, father of Denison Hempstead, of 16 Howard street, was born April 25, 1788.

A building of some interest is the Pinevert house, with its gable window fronting the street. It stands on the east side of Truman street and is at present numbered 37. This was the residence of John Pinevert who came to New London about 1775, and who resided here till his death in 1805. About 1798 he was commissioned by the French government, consul to this port, an office which he held during the period of the French Directory, which terminated about 1799. Monsieur Pinevert married Catherine Murphy, a grand daughter of Governor Saltonstall.

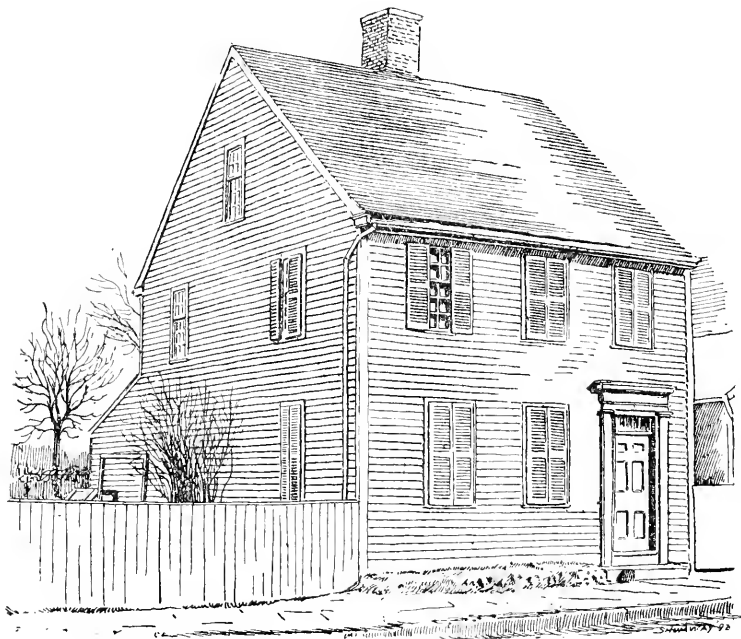
It may here be said that Truman street is one of the oldest streets in town, and derived its name from Joseph Truman who



PINEVERT HOUSE.

came to New London in 1666, and was chosen constable the following year. He had a tannery at each end of this street, at Truman's brook and near the Hempstead house.

On the east side of Truman street just north of Blinman, is the house No. 31, now owned and occupied by Miss Ann Beebe. Considerable interest attaches to this building. It was built prior to 1739. During the great awakening of 1741 it was occupied by the "Separatists," a society comprised of about one hundred persons, who seceded from the Congregational church, then under



THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL.

the ministry of Mr. Adams. Here Mr. James Davenport, the most ardent and renowned enthusiast of this exciting period, was accustomed to preach. About this period, Rev. Thomas Allen, from West Haven, opened in this house, a sort of Theological school, which was called "The Shepherd's Tent" a name by which the house at the present day is often designated. In 1761 this

property was sold by Nathaniel Saltonstall to the town committee for an Almshouse. The grounds surrounding the house at this time extended to Blinman street, the dimensions of the lot being about 128 feet on Truman and 115 feet on Blinman. This house was occupied by the town's poor, till 1782. Shortly after this the Almshouse was erected on the site of the present Bulkeley school.

The house No. 19 Brewer street, corner of Washington, was standing before 1740, owned by the Champlain family, three members of which were in the privateer and naval service of the country during the Revolution, and one became noted in the war of 1812. For more than a century and a half this dwelling has been in the possession of the Champlain family. The chimney was originally built on the outside of the house, which at first contained but two rooms extending from Brewer street to the chimney. Later additions were made, and an ell was added on both streets. The overhead beams and low ceilings of the original part of the house are suggestive of Colonial times.

The house, corner Bank and Brewer streets, next south of Mr. Perkins, was built by Mr. Christopher, about 1755 and is very generally spoken of as the Christopher place. Sixty years ago George Jones who married a Miss Christopher occupied the house. Mr. Jones put up the cedar posts in the rough as supports for his piazza, giving the house somewhat the appearance of a chalet. He also built the Hobron brick block on the east side of Coit street.

The land through which Brewer street was laid out in 1765, was formerly Adam Pickett's farm. I have been informed that his stone farm house stood near the site of the Christopher house. Adam Pickett was son-in-law of Jonathan Brewster, who in turn was son of Elder William Brewster who came over in the Mayflower.

The house No. 198 Bank street, opposite Pearl, known by older residents as the "John Way" house, can be traced back by deeds to 1761, but it is of earlier origin. Mr. Way resided here, and had his soap and candle factory in the rear.

It must not be supposed that this article is exhaustive of the subject. There are other houses whose age and associations would justify a more extended mention, but this sketch has al-

ready exceeded the limits contemplated by the writer whose purpose will have been accomplished if any facts have been presented with which the reading public are unacquainted.

That the article of Mr. Chew was timely, and that other old buildings should receive a like attention at his hands, is evidenced by the fact that two buildings mentioned by him, the Winthrop house near the Town Mill, and the Pinevert house, are already things of the past.—Ed.

The Historical society is indebted for the use of the plates of the Town Mill, Shaw house, Hempstead house and Mount Vernon, to C. J. Viets, Esq., and for the use of the plates of the Nathan Hale School house, the old Theological seminary and Pinevert house, to The Telegraph Co., and its thanks for the kindness are hereby tendered.

T. S. COLLIER, Secretary.

REPORT
OF THE
ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
NEW LONDON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
HELD SEPTEMBER 6, 1892.
WITH A
LIST OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS,
AND
OTHER SOCIETY BUSINESS.

The Act of Incorporation allows the New London County Historical Society to hold property, and any bequest may be made for specific purposes, as fund for permanent building, for printing, or for the general expenses of the society, as desired.

The form for such bequest is as follows :

I give and bequeath to the New London County Historical Society, the sum of dollars, the same to be applied to the fund of said society, to be used under the direction of the officers of said Society for the purpose named.

REPORT

OF

THE ANNUAL MEETING,

1892.

The regular annual meeting of the New London County Historical Society, was held in the Society's room, Public Library Building, New London, Connecticut, at 11 a. m., September 6th, 1892, the Hon. C. A. Williams, the President, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Treasurer, C. B. Ware, Esq., read his report showing receipts for the past year of \$147.87, and expenditures of \$121.52, leaving a balance of \$28.45. As this was the first time that the treasurer's balance had exceeded \$25, and the second time that the treasury had shown a balance in its favor, the report was very acceptable, and on motion of the President, a vote of thanks was tendered the Treasurer.

The Treasurer also reported that the Society had a printing fund of \$50, and a miscellaneous fund of \$100 in the bank, so that the treasury was in a more flourishing condition than it had been at any previous time in the Society's history.

Thomas S. Collier, Secretary, then read his report.

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

Mr. President and Gentlemen, Members of the New London County Historical Society :

Your Secretary is pleased to report a favorable progress in the affairs of the Society. With the moving into new quarters, an added interest in regard to it has been manifested. New mem-

bers have come to us, and the contributions have been numerous and interesting. Of course, the Society will be more useful when the books, pamphlets and newspapers are filed, bound and arranged, and the curiosities numbered and catalogued. The books have been placed on the shelves, and the Secretary can point out the particular works to visitors, but he has waited to number and catalogue them, hoping that the pamphlets and newspapers might be bound, in which case many numbers might be condensed. It will be a long task to arrange and catalogue the pamphlets and papers, but the Secretary will gladly do this, as soon as he knows that a binding fund is ready to make his labor of service to the community. And in connection with this, he would respectfully bring to the notice of the members, two needs that are of pressing importance, the filling of which would greatly facilitate the work of arranging and cataloguing the curiosities and books.

The first is a cabinet to hold the curiosities, so that they may be seen, but not handled. Your Secretary has consulted with a cabinet maker concerning this, and finds that it will require \$60 to furnish this. This is not an expensive outlay, but as the funds of the Society are limited, and about equal to the running expenses and the printing of the annual book, he has not thought best to order the same until he was sure that he had money enough ahead to meet the expense. And in the matter of filing the pamphlets and newspapers, it is of little use to do this, unless those so filed can be bound in proper volumes. There are no funds at present available for this, and it seems unwise to begin the work till the binding is assured. It must be remembered that when the present Secretary was elected to the office, he found the Society heavily in debt, the list of membership at a very low ebb, and also that the Society had never issued a distinctive publication. There is no debt now, and the publications of the Society have met with wide praise and favor, in fact, so well are they thought of, that the leading libraries and colleges have requested copies for use, two such requests having been received within a week. The moving into rooms where there is no rent to pay, and the increase in membership, has helped to the favorable condition of the Society's finances; and the increase in membership is largely due to the interest that has been awakened by the publications of the Society. But the receipts have not been sufficient to admit of other expenditure, and your Secretary would

respectfully suggest that an added interest would be awakened could the property of the Society be made more serviceable, as it would be, by the arranging in a cabinet of the curiosities, and the filing and binding of the newspapers and pamphlets. That this thought is based on experience, is the best proof of its truthfulness. More than one hundred inquiries that had to be settled by reference to the newspapers in the Society's possession have come up within a short period of time. The labor of tracing these in the present chaotic state of the papers, can readily be understood by a glance at their number.

To meet these needs, your Secretary would respectfully suggest that a subscription paper, stating the wants of the Society and the amount needed to supply these, be made and circulated among the members. He is very willing to bestow the time needed to arrange, file and catalogue the Society's possessions, provided he can have the result of his labor put into a shape that will add to the usefulness of the Society, and he feels sure that this will result in an increased membership and an added interest in the Society's welfare.

In the matter of contributions, the Society has received the model of the Vermont, 74, from George T. Marshall, a picture of the Old Dow schoolhouse, from Mrs. Mira Meade, a sword and belt of the time of 1812, from J. Dwight Baker, and a piece of the cable of the Resolute from Miss Fanny Denison.

In books and pamphlets there have been contributed: By the New Jersey Historical society, four books and fifty-nine pamphlets; by the Onedia County, Buffalo, Rhode Island and Fairfield County Historical societies, one pamphlet each; from Yale college, two pamphlets; from the Hartford seminary, Salem Press, Dedham and Hyde Park Historical societies, four pamphlets each; from the Connecticut Historical society, one bound volume, Talcott papers; from Miss Helen Fitch, three bound volumes, and nine pamphlets; from Judge J. G. Crump, Cassius W. Smith, Esq., and the Hon. Benj. Stark, one volume each; from the Hon. Charles A. Russell, Hon. John T. Wait and Hon. Charles J. Hoadley, state librarian, numerous volumes of state and national publications; from R. C. Winthrop, Jr., Esq., one volume of Winthrop papers; from the New Haven Colony Historical society, the New England Historic Genealogical society, Harvard college, the Old Residents Historical society of Lowell, one pamphlet each. From the New

York state library, three pamphlets, and the Secretary has contributed eight bound volumes and two pamphlets and the treasurer two volumes. It will thus be seen that the library is making satisfactory progress, though it is to be hoped that some of our members may find it convenient to add to the number such volumes of genealogy and history as they may think should be preserved on the Society's shelves.

The Society has been called upon to mourn the loss of four of its oldest members. They are the Hon. F. B. Loomis, an incorporator, and for a long time first Vice-President of the Society. Dr. Isaac G. Porter, M. D., a charter member, Joshua C. Learned, Esq., and Miss Catharine Rainey. Always interested in the work and welfare of the Society, their loss is indeed to be regretted, and such action as the Society usually takes in the case of the death of members, is recommended.

Thanking the members for their help and encouragement, which has enabled him to place the Society more firmly among kindred associations in the matter of publications, this report is respectfully submitted.

THOS. S. COLLIER, Secretary.

The reports of the Treasurer and Secretary were accepted, and ordered placed on file.

The election of officers was then taken up, and the list for the year just closing was re-elected, Major Bela P. Learned, of Norwich, being added to the Advisory Committee.

The business of the Society was then taken up, the first matter being the purchase of a cabinet. After some discussion, the matter was referred to a committee consisting of the President, Treasurer and Secretary, they being given power to procure funds for the purpose by such means as would best serve the benefit of the Society.

The following amendment to Article 3, of the By-Laws, was then proposed:

Any person may become a life member of the Society by the payment of twenty-five dollars, or an annual member by the payment of one dollar. The money received from life members shall be deposited in the Savings bank, and only the interest used, unless needed for the purchase of a permanent building for the use of the Society.

After favorable comment, the amendment was laid on the table for action at a subsequent meeting, to be duly called by the Secretary, this being the rule of the Constitution of the Society.

The Secretary called attention to the influence on the attendance, at the regular meetings, that the advertisement of the reading of a historical paper showed, and advocated that these be made a regular feature of the Society's gatherings. The Rev. Dr. Blake suggested that a paper on the life and services of Governor Gurdon Saltonstall would be very appropriate, and on motion of the President, Dr. Blake was requested to prepare such a paper for reading at the next annual meeting. The Secretary then called attention to the interest that could be developed in a paper on the whaling industry of the county, and suggested that the President would be a fitting person to prepare such a paper, and that the time for this was the present, before all of the men who had been active in that business, had passed away. The suggestion was favorably considered, and Mr. Williams was requested to prepare such a paper.

Both gentlemen kindly consented to favor the Society with the result of conscientious labor on the matters assigned them, and it is safe to say that the members may expect a rare treat.

Dr. Blake suggested that the annual meetings could, and should be made of greater public interest, and recommended that they be of two sessions; one in the morning, for the transaction of business, and one in the afternoon, when papers on historical subjects should be read. He offered the Parish House for these meetings, should the rooms be considered too small.

The Secretary, in reply, said that he had asked for such papers, and specially so for the first meeting that was held in the new rooms of the Society. He could get no one to respond to his request, and had, therefore, hastily prepared a short sketch. The advertisement of the fact that this was to be read at that time, drew together the largest assemblage that had gathered at any of the annual meetings of the Society during his membership. He hoped the plan so well begun by the acceptance of the President and Mr. Blake, would be carried out without intermission, for it would soon give the Society a local standing in every part of the county, and make it an institution that each town would take pride in.

A mid-winter meeting in Norwich was proposed, and the idea met with universal favor. It was suggested that a paper of in-

terest to the people of that city be prepared, and that it be accompanied by a statement of the aims of the Society. The matter was left in the hands of the Advisory committee. Such a course would undoubtedly attract attention, and place the Society in its true position before the people, who are now but inadequately informed as to the ends sought by the Society—the preservation of all historical incident and data of county interest, as well as such other of wider significance, as is linked to this, one of the most historic portions of the land.

The Secretary and John McGinley, Esq., were appointed a committee to draft suitable resolutions in memory of the members deceased during the year, and the meeting then adjourned.

REPORT OF A SPECIAL MEETING

HELD DECEMBER 10th, 1892.

The meeting was called to order at 11 a. m. by the Secretary. In the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents, Mr. C. B. Ware was elected chairman.

The Secretary reported that the first business before the meeting was the election of members. Dr James Newcomb and Mrs. Frederic Newcomb were proposed for life members, and Mrs. Adah Jenks Cash, Mrs. Anne M. Brockington and Mr. Ernest E. Rogers for annual members. They were unanimously elected.

The amendment of Article 3, of the By-Laws, was then taken up, and after discussion it was passed, the wording of the amendment being as given in the report of the annual meeting.

The report of the committee on memorial resolutions, handed to the Advisory committee, and approved by them, is as follows:

WHEREAS God, in His wisdom has seen fit to call to Himself our late associates and fellow members, Hon. Francis B. Loomis, Dr. Isaac G. Porter, Joshua C. Learned, Esq., and Miss Catherine E. Rainey; be it

Resolved, That the New London County Historical Society, in annual meeting assembled, recognizes in the death of the members named, a severe and lasting loss. Connected with the Society from its beginning, they always took a lively interest in its welfare, and endeavored to assist it in all ways open to them, and the Society, by these words expresses its sincere sorrow for the bereavement it, and the families of its deceased members have sustained, and it offers to the relatives of those who have been taken from the world, its sincere sympathy in this, their time of trial.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the Society's records, and published in its annual report.

JOHN MCGINLEY, } Committee.
THOS. S. COLLIER, }

OFFICERS

OF THE

NEW LONDON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 6th, 1893.

PRESIDENT,

HON. CHARLES AUGUSTUS WILLIAMS, OF NEW LONDON.

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HON. WILLIAM A. SLATER, OF NORWICH.

HON. FREDERICK BILL, OF GROTON.

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TREASURER,

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ANNUAL.

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Boston.

Hazard Hon. G. S.

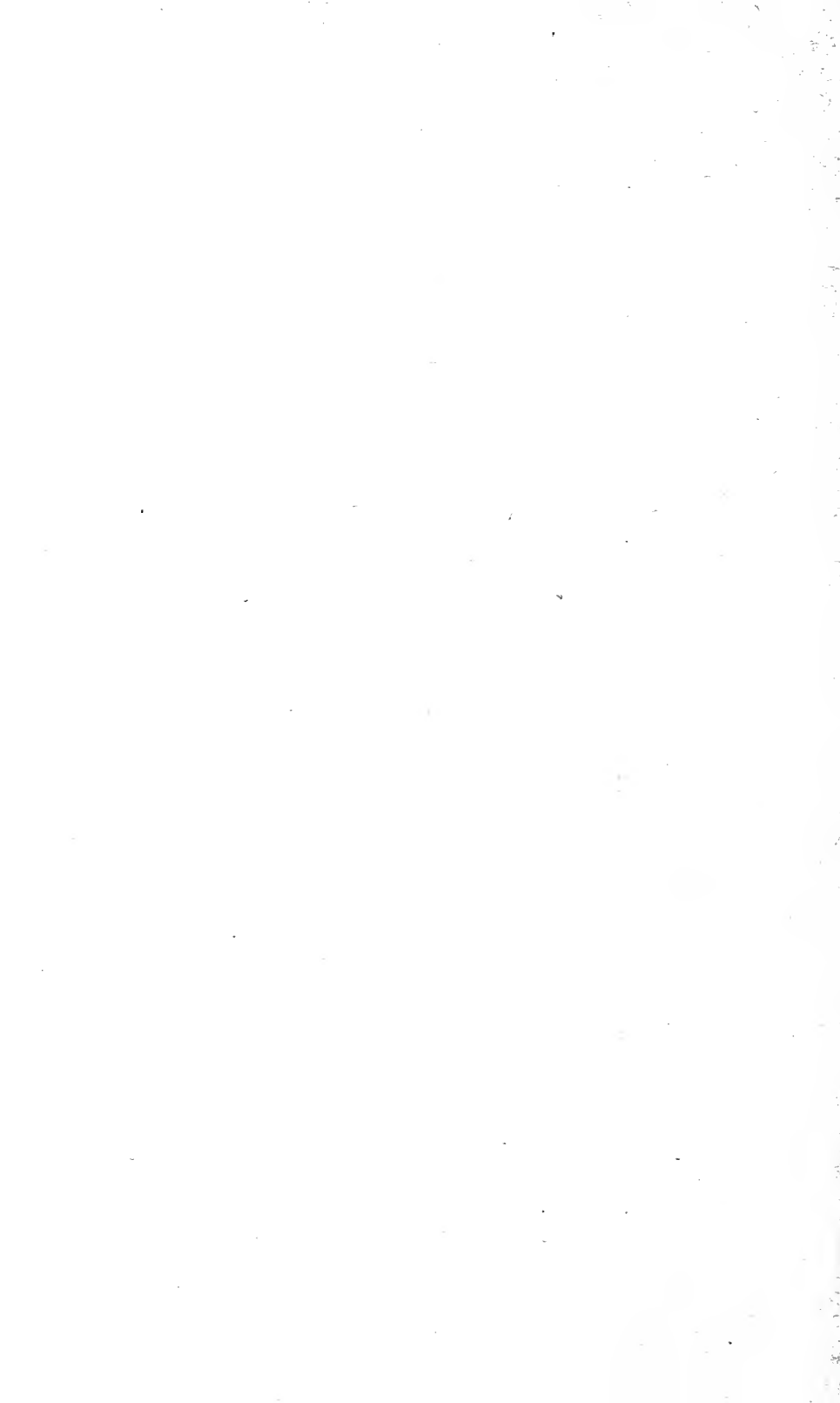
Boston.

Dean J. W. Esq.

The Secretary would respectfully call the attention of all readers to the fact that the sketch of the Revolutionary privateers of Connecticut, is fragmentary, and that much material that could be added, is undoubtedly in the possession of people who would be glad to see it put into a shape that would assure its permanency. He asks that all who may obtain a knowledge of such material, will communicate with him, that he may add to the account all matter of value, and he trusts that the aid thus sought, and for which his sincere thanks are tendered, will be willingly given, that a better account of the actions of the brave men noted may be obtained and preserved.



RECORDS
AND
PAPERS
OF THE
NEW LONDON COUNTY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
PART V. VOLUME I.



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AND
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OF THE
NEW LONDON COUNTY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

PART V. VOLUME I.

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT.

1894.

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1894.

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S. Leroy Blake

Gurdon Saltonstall,

SCHOLAR, PREACHER, STATESMAN :

SIXTEEN YEARS PASTOR OF THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, NEW LONDON ;

SIXTEEN YEARS GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT.

—BY—

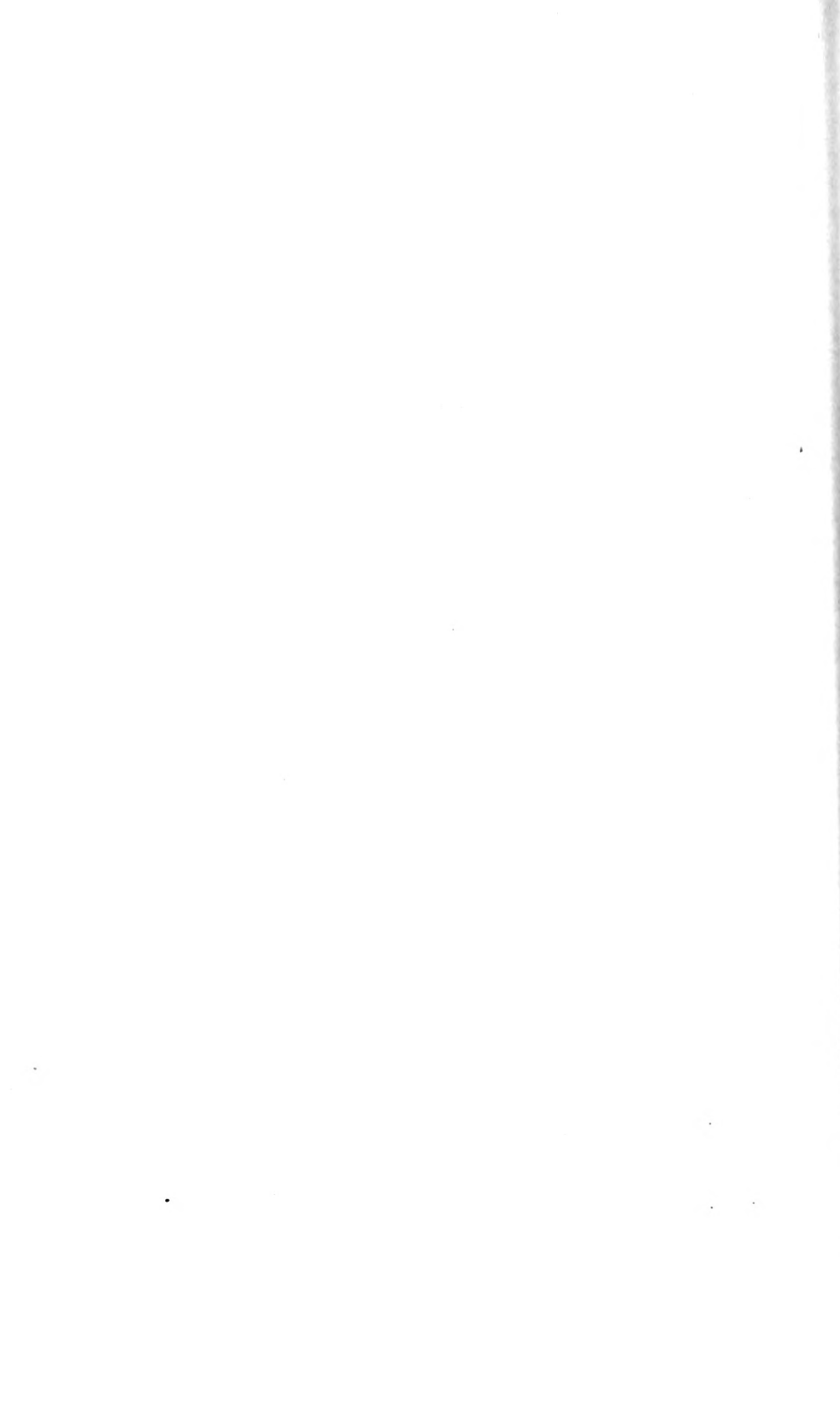
Rev. S. L. BLAKE, D. D.,

PASTOR OF THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST.

Read at the Annual Meeting of the New London County Historical Society,
September, 1893.

NEW LONDON, CONN.

1894.



GURDON SALTONSTALL,

PASTOR AND GOVERNOR.

Great men belong to great periods. They are nature's effort to meet an emergency. They are the product of times demanding strength. Isaiah appeared in Jewish history at a time when the corruptions of the ring-rule, under Shebna, demanded a leader great enough to be master. The corruptions of the closing reigns at Jerusalem, which were hastening the national doom, brought Jeremiah to the front, and compelled him to speak. Daniel was conspicuous in the politics of Babylon for seven decades, because the times demanded him. There was need of a sharp, strong voice, of virile speech, to preface the coming of the promised prince with the startling exhortation, "Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand," and John the Baptist was raised up to meet the emergency.

Leaders, in the periods of the beginning of any nation, are made great by the necessities which call them forth. An age when foundations are laid, is one of struggles. Strong hands and quick eyes must lay the foundation-blocks, and the corner stones. The Pilgrims of Plymouth, who laid the foundations of New England, had to be great men. They were educated in a school which graduated giants.

Men of the Colonial period were great of necessity, just as men lifting great weights must have brawny muscles lying along their thighs, and arms, and chests. Go into a furnace where men handle great masses of iron. See how their sinews are swollen with strength. Go into the workshop of the ages, where Titans are forging great destinies, or are casting great constitutions. Power and might are graven on every face, because these men are handling mighty problems, and establishing great principles of government. The men who held responsible posts in the stormy beginnings of this republic were compelled to be great. Politics were then the discussion and application of the science of government, rather than the management of political parties.

These things are true in church as well as in state. The pioneers of great religious movements must be unsurpassed in strength of purpose and character, in foresight and determination, in virtue and incorruptible integrity; else they could not be pioneers. The world has seen sharper men, but none greater, in my judgment, than the men who laid the foundations of the Apostolic Church. The men who laid the foundations of church and state on this continent were great men; as it now seems almost of prophetic vision. Among these was Gurdon Saltonstall—scholar, preacher, statesman and christian gentleman of the olden type. He was so a part of the civil and religious history of the early times of New London, and of the Connecticut colony, that a lively interest must attach to his conspicuous, and in many ways remarkable, life.

I. ANCESTRY.

He was born at Haverhill, Mass., March 27, 1666. He was the son of Nathaniel Saltonstall, a councillor of some note, who was born at Ipswich, Mass., in 1639; who was graduated from Harvard College in 1659; and who died at Haverhill, May 21, 1707. Nathaniel, the father of Gurdon, was the son of Richard Saltonstall, who was born in Yorkshire, England, in 1610. He entered the University of Cambridge in 1627, at the age of 17. As he came to Massachusettes in 1630, with his father, in company with John Winthrop, the first governor of the Massachusettes colony, he evidently did not complete the full course at that University. He returned to England in 1672, and died April 29, 1694. Richard, the grandfather of Gurdon, was the son of Richard Saltonstall, Sen., who was born in Halifax, England, in 1586. He was a nephew of Sir Richard Saltonstall, who was Lord Mayor of the City of London. He came to Massachusettes with John Winthrop, as his assistant, and arrived June 22, 1630. He returned to England in 1631. He filled several important positions under the crown. In 1644 he was sent as ambassador to Holland; in 1649 he was one of judges of the court which passed sentence of death upon the Duke of Hamilton, Lord Capel and others for high treason. He was one of the original patentees of the Connecticut colony, of which his great grandson was to be governor. He died in England in 1658 at the age of 72.

Gurdon Saltonstall was of noble descent. The best of blood ran in his veins. He got his name, Gurdon, from his grandmother, who was one Muriel Gurdon. Lucy Downing wrote from Watertown, Mass., to John Winthrop, Jr., afterwards the founder of New London, and governor of Connecticut, June 22, 1633, to the following effect: "Last night Mr. Gurden came to me to desire my house for his lodging, and his daughter is here to be married next week to Sir Richard Saltonstall's son." This daughter of "Mr. Gurden" is spoken of in another letter as Mariel Gurdon and was the grandmother of Governor Saltonstall, from whom he obtained his first name.

II. THE PASTOR.

Gurdon Saltonstall appears to have entered Harvard College, the Alma Mater of his father, at the early age of 14, since he graduated in 1684, at the age of 18. He did not follow his father into the law, but studied theology, probably with some local clergyman, since there was then no school of the prophets. In the winter of 1687-8 he preached in the pulpit of the First Church of Christ, in New London, with so great acceptance that the town passed a unanimous vote to call him to the pastorate of its only church. As is well known, the town was the parish in those early days, and the ecclesiastical affairs of the church were managed in open town-meeting. Therefore Miss Caulkins says that in May, 1688, the inhabitants of the town "passed a unanimous vote to accept of his ministry, requesting his continuance among them, promising to give him due encouragement, and adding 'on his return from Boston, whither he is going, they will proceed to have him ordained.'" This vote was repeated in 1689. For some reason the ordination did not take place till November 25, 1691, although he seems to have supplied the pulpit in the meantime. August 25, 1691, at a town-meeting, at which sixty-five persons, heads of families, were present, the votes of 1688 and 1689 were reaffirmed, and men were appointed to make arrangements with Mr. Saltonstall for his ordination. At that meeting it was voted, "that Hon. Major General Fitz-John Winthrop is to appear as the mouth of the town at Mr. Saltonstall's ordination, to declare the town's acceptance of him to the ministry." Thus, at the age of 25 years and 8 months, he became the ordained and installed minister

of the First Church of Christ; which office he held and filled with great ability, till he was chosen Governor of the colony in 1708, to succeed his distinguished parishioner, Hon. Fitz-John Winthrop, who died in office November 27, 1707.

Of this young pastor, who had now assumed a charge which he was to hold for sixteen and a half years, it is said that he was learned, eloquent and distinguished for knowledge of affairs, and for elegance and courtliness of manners. He came of an ancestry of statesmen, which may serve to explain his administrative ability. Because he possessed these qualities, he was the civil as well as spiritual adviser of Governor Winthrop. During the latter part of Mr. Winthrop's term of office, the state of his excellency's health was often such that its cares were temporarily assumed by his pastor. Of the courtliness of his manners Miss Caulkins says: "he was tall and well proportioned, and of dignified aspect and demeanor." "At a later period, when Mr. Saltonstall had become Governor of the colony, it is retained by tradition, that he might be seen on a Sunday morning, issuing from this garden gate, and moving with slow, majestic step to the meeting-house, accompanied by his wife, and followed by his children, four sons and four daughters, and the family servants in the rear."

In explanation of the allusion to the "garden gate," it should be said that "Mr. Saltonstall, assisted by a gratuity from the town, purchased a lot, and built a house for himself" on the spot now occupied by the Mather-house. [Miss Caulkins,] Like its reverend owner, his dwelling was conspicuous, at least for situation. The meeting-house stood near what is now known as Bulkeley place. The old burial ground was undoubtedly its church-yard, in obedience to the custom of those, and of even later times, of associating the house where men were expected to arise from the death of sin, with the place whence their bodies were supposed to arise on the morning of the resurrection. Mr. Saltonstall's lot was bounded in the rear by the Codner highway, or "pathway from the meeting-house to the mill," which had been closed. It was reopened to accommodate Mr. Saltonstall. A gate, opening from his grounds into it, brought him within a few rods of the church. This reopened lane is now known as Stony Hill

The ability with which this young pastor undertook the duties of his responsible charge, is conspicuously evident. The former pastor, Rev. Simeon Bradstreet, had died probably in August, 1683. There were no additions to the church during this interim of eight years. On the contrary the membership decreased from seventy to thirty-five at the time of Mr. Saltonstall's ordination. During his pastorate 154 were admitted into the church. These additions, though numerically small, show a rare power of influencing men in those days of sparser population. When we consider that he had among his hearers such men as Fitz-John Winthrop, there can be no doubt about his power and influence as a pastor.

Among his brethren in the ministry, he enjoyed unbounded popularity. Among people at large he had the reputation of being severe and imperious. Doubtless there was some reason for this view of his character. For he dealt with offenders with a heavy hand, both as pastor and magistrate. Miss Caulkins says: [The Repository for June 28, 1860,] "he was uniformly popular, except with those religious sects that dissented from the prevailing ecclesiastical system. To them he was a rigorous magistrate. The Rogerenes and other seceders felt his heavy hand. * * * He was severe in his decisions against all non-conformists, and labored to have church and state combined in one effective system of government." He was a believer in synods, and wanted to give them larger powers, than Congregationalism now accords, in ecclesiastical order and discipline. He believed that church and state should be governed by laws judiciously framed, and made firm and unalterable. The repeated disturbances which he witnessed led him to lean to Presbyterianism in matters of church government. The Saybrook Platform, which was an effort in that direction, is mainly ascribed to his hand. Being thus an advocate of rigorous authority, he was disposed to administer severe discipline to wilful offenders. This may serve to explain his reputation among people at large.

Although he loved order, and was conservative in spirit, yet under his sanction it was left to the churches of the colony to adopt or reject the platform of the Saybrook Synod. He was tolerant towards those who differed from him in religious opinions, if they were not disturbers of the peace. He affirmed that no Quaker or other person suffered in the Colony of Connecticut for his

different persuasions in respect of religious matters. This is a significant assertion, in view of the fact that, during his ministry, peculiar disturbances arose through that strange sect, the Rogerenes. They were like other Christians in matters of doctrine generally. In some respects they were like the Quakers, though they did not abandon the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper. They were opposed to the observance of the Sabbath; they did not believe in a gospel-ministry of ordained men; nor in houses set apart for public worship; nor in administering the oath in civil courts; nor that any should be taxed to support the institutions of religion; nor in the observance of any civil or religious rite in marriage. Not only was it true that they did not believe these things, and many more like them, but they meant that people should know that they did not believe them. They felt bound to testify of their dissent from the opinions of others and from the express statutes of the colony. So they would go to church and engage in sewing or knitting during divine service; they would chop or saw wood on the door-step during the prayer and the preaching; they would often come to divine service in a half naked state, and in time of public worship behave in a most scandalous manner, crying out, and calling the preacher a liar, if he said anything which they did not like. In every way they could, they violated and insulted the laws of the colony in the presence of its officers, in order to secure their arrest, so that they might have opportunity to defy civil authority. They called this testifying against the errors of the times. Of course such proceedings were not for a moment to be tolerated. They could not but be an offence to a lover of order like Mr. Saltonstall. It is not strange that he caused them to be ejected from church, and in other ways to be summarily and severely dealt with. During his pastorate John Rogers circulated slanderous reports about him. Mr. Saltonstall had the offender prosecuted, and obtained judgment against him for over £600, thus teaching the Rogerene a salutary lesson in the use of his unruly member, the tongue. These people were not punished for their strange beliefs. So long as they worshipped God in their own way and did not interfere with the rights of others they were not molested. But for their disorderly conduct, for taking pains, as Dr. Trumbull says they did, to disturb Christian assemblies, and deprive others of their rights to worship God in their own way, they were punished as would be done now; and this was as it

should have been. If this is the only reason why Mr. Saltonstall was thought to be severe, there is no case against him. In his dealing with these strange people, he showed a shrewed knowledge of men. The story is familiar how he outwitted one couple who were living scandalously, and I may say, Rogerenely together, and had them married with their own consent, before they knew it. This strange sect originated in New London about 1672. Their home has always been in New London county. Their numbers have remained, even to this day, about the same as at their beginning.*

Mr. Saltonstall was a masterful preacher. Miss Caulkins says of him, [The Repository for June, 28, 1860] "his appearance in the pulpit was wonderfully imposing and majestic; the audience seemed enchained to his lips, and the eloquence of his eye was said to be no less impressive than that of his tongue. His fame spread rapidly, and it was considered a great privilege to spend a Sabbath in New London and hear Mr. Saltonstall preach." The story is told that on some public occasion, like a conference, he preached six hours without a break, save that he paused long enough between two of the heads of his discourse for the people to eat their lunch, and with such eloquence and power that he held his audience to the close. An article appeared in the *Boston News Letter* after his death, which spoke of the "concise fulness of his diction and style," the charm of his voice, the clearness and strength of his reasoning, and the fitness and grace of his gestures, which made him heard "with satisfaction, delight and rapture." He was a great preacher,

He was one of the great men of those times which begot great men for great emergencies. The church grew and became strong, and attained to wide and commanding influence under his ministry. The honor of being chosen to preach the annual election sermon was early [1697] conferred on him. If he was imperious, it was because he had strong convictions, a strong will, and was born to command. His strength of will was not obstinancy. He could give a reason for not yielding; since his clear judgment was a safeguard against hastily adopting opinions which could not be defended, and must soon be abandoned. Because of his clearness of judgment, his wisdom was sought in the settlement of estates, in the management of trusts, and in various similar responsibilities

*These facts about the Rogerenes are stated on authority of Dr. Trumbull and Miss Caulkins.

which clergymen of these later times are rarely called upon to assume.

Of his spiritual power no records have been left. There are no accounts of powerful awakenings, such as attended the ministry of his immediate successor, Rev. Eliphalet Adams. During the ministry of Mr. Adams, says Dr. Field, occurred "the greatest revival that there has been in the history of this church," (The First Church of Christ.) This was in 1740, sixteen years after Mr. Saltonstall's death. This was the year of the great awakening in New England. Jonathan Edwards had been in Northampton, Mass. thirteen years. His powerful preaching had been felt throughout New England. Mr. Whitfield, with his burning eloquence and zeal had come hither in 1739. The foundations had been laid. Everything was ready. The air was surcharged with moisture. The rain descended. New England was blessed. In New London, the shower fell upon soil in whose preparation and sowing Mr. Saltonstall had borne a conspicuous part. If no such awakening attended his ministry as blessed that of Mr. Adams, it is to be said, first, that during the ministry of his predecessor, Mr. Bradstreet, which covered a period of nineteen years, only fifty were added to the communion of the church; second, that during Mr. Saltonstall's ministry, the Rogerene defection was at its height, which was fatal to spiritual growth and power; third, that during the sixteen years of his pastorate, 154 were received into the fellowship of the church. We must conclude that the years of this pastorate were fruitful in its growth, and in its establishment upon the firm foundations of sound doctrine, from which it has never been moved.

The years of Mr. Saltonstall's pastorate were within that period when Sabbath laws were in force, which this generation likes to call blue and puritanical. There are accounts like these: one woman was brought before the court and fined, for not attending public worship with her children; "John Lewis and Sarah Chapman" were "presented (before the court) for sitting together on the Lord's day under an apple tree in Goodman Chapman's orchard;" another was arrested for living alone in idleness, and for not attending public worship.

Rigorous measures of this sort bred alienation, so that some within the circle of Mr. Saltonstall's parish, who lived on the other side of the river became dissatisfied with his ministry. In 1700 a case of discipline, sent up to the General Court, and by that body

referred to a council, resulted in the suspension of the accused members from the privileges of the church. A paper of remonstrance was drawn up, and those who signed it were also suspended till they acknowledged their offense. The whole were finally reconciled and restored to fellowship. But rigorous discipline of this sort, which Mr. Saltonstall favored, makes it certain that his pastorate was not a thornless one. Nevertheless he held his place with singular power and success for over sixteen years.

During his ministry Mr. Saltonstall recorded only thirty-seven marriages. The habits of the New London of two hundred years ago, in this regard, seem to have been handed down to the New London of the present. But we must turn from his pastoral life, to his more public career as Governor of the Colony.

III. THE GOVERNOR.

It was an unusual event for the pastor of a church to step down from the pulpit, in order to assume the office of Chief Magistrate of a commonwealth; so much so as to cause remark. Miss Caulkins says: "A transition so sudden from the sacred desk to the chair of Chief Magistrate is an unusual, if not solitary event." It was so unprecedented that the pastor of a church should be publicly summoned to leave his sacred calling, to attend to secular affairs, that the Assembly, by whom he was chosen to succeed Gov. Winthrop, sent a committee of eight, including three deputies and the speaker of the House, to wait upon him in New London, and urge his acceptance of the office. As was to be expected, he was severely censured for taking the step. Backus, in his ecclesiastical history of those times, says: "Gov. Winthrop died there (in Boston) November 27, 1707, upon which a special meeting of their General Court was called December 17, to choose a new Governor. By a law then in force, he was to be chosen out of a certain number of men in previous nomination; but they broke over this law, and elected an ordained minister for their Governor; and he readily quitted the solemn charge of souls for worldly promotion and was sworn into his new office January 1, 1708, after they had repealed the law which they had broken."

The loss to the church must have been great when such a pastor and leader was taken from them. The Assembly expected opposition from Mr. Saltonstall's people and addressed a letter to them, "using arguments to induce them to acquiesce in the result."

As a further persuasion a gratuity of £100 was bestowed on the church, "as a compensation in part for depriving the town of its former minister, Mr. Saltonstall," and to enable them to settle another pastor. The vote as recorded in the Colonial Records reads, "this Assembly upon the motion and desire of the inhabitants of New London and the arguments by them insisted upon, do grant to the said inhabitants £100 in pay out of the next country rate, towards the settling of a minister." This vote was passed at the May session of 1708, when Governor Saltonstall took his seat after his first election by the people to be the fifth Governor of the state under the charter. Considering the man, and the price for ministers now-a-days, the state got the best end of the bargain. The fact that the Assembly repealed the law which stood in the way of his election, so that he might be elected by the people, and the fact that he was re-elected every year till his death, September 20, 1724, proves that the colony thought so too. Thus the term of his office as Governor, was the same length as his pastoral service—sixteen and one-half years; although his actual ministerial service was probably three years longer. There could not be stronger testimony to his conspicuous gifts of administrative ability, to his justice as a magistrate, and to his sagacity as a statesman, than his repeated re-election by his fellow citizens.

Before considering in detail the period of his official life, it will be well to note several facts which help explain the unusual step. First then, it is to be said that Mr. Saltonstall inherited a judicial mind and the gift of statesmanship. It was said of him, after his death, "he had a great compass of learning, was a profound divine, a great judge in the law, and a consummate statesman." So that the General Assembly did not act without reason when they removed the legal restriction which made Mr. Saltonstall ineligible to the office. When he became pastor of the First Church he did not confine himself solely to the office and duties of bishop. He was from the first associated with the leading men of the colony, was interested in public affairs, and was one of the ablest men of his times in Connecticut. Thus in 1693, only two years after his settlement as pastor of the First Church in New London, he was invited by the General Assembly to accompany Fitz-John Winthrop, who had been appointed agent of the Colony to represent it in England, "to obtain in the best way and manner he (Winthrop) shall be capable, a confirmation of our charter privi-

leges." It does not appear that Mr. Saltonstall went, but on the return of Mr. Winthrop from England, he wrote to him, December 20, 1697, most cordially welcoming him home. "Your safe arrival * * * hath not been without a very happy effect among us, which I hope your presence here will speedily complete.

* * * There is universal joy among us upon the prosperous issue of the divine conduct which hath waited upon you in your voyage at such an unexpected and hazardous season; and we take it for granted that our charter cannot but be secure while you are safe." The fact of his appointment shows how large a place he had come to hold in the civil affairs of the colony, after so short a residence in it. I may add that, as he was but twenty-seven years of age, this honor conferred on him was signal testimony to his statesmanlike qualities, and may be regarded as among the steps leading him from the pulpit to the office of Governor.

During his pastorate he was called upon several times to perform civil offices for the colony. Thus in 1698, the last Wednesday of February was appointed as a day of public thanksgiving to God for "the restoration of peace to the English Nation, and the success and safe return of our agent; and the Rev. Mr. [Timothy] Woodbridge and Mr. Saltonstall are desired to draw a bill for that end." [Colonial Records 1689-1706, p. 240. The return, here spoken of, of Mr. Winthrop is the same as that referred to in a letter quoted above.] In 1700, Mr. Saltonstall, with Rev. Abraham Pierson and Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, was appointed by the General Assembly "for composing the differences in Haddum." The report of this committee was adopted [ibid p. 329.] In 1697 he was designated with Major General Fitz-John Winthrop and Major Jonathan Sellick, on behalf of the General Assembly, to wait upon the Earl of Bellemont, on his arrival in New York, "in the name of the Governor, Council and Representatives of this colony, to congratulate the happy arrival of his Excellency" [ibid p. 238.] To these incidents in the life of this pastor is to be added the fact, already referred to, that in 1697 he was appointed to preach the election sermon, which was delivered May 13. It seems to have been a production of considerable power, as copies of it were "divided to the several counties, proportionably according to the lists of the several counties." These incidents, not common to the life and experience of a clergyman, show how naturally he was drawn into active partici-

pation in public affairs. The Hon. Fitz-John Winthrop, as we have seen, was his friend and parishioner. His relations to Mr. Winthrop, both while he was magistrate, and governor, brought Mr. Saltonstall into immediate knowledge of colonial affairs. Upon the election of Mr. Winthrop to the office of governor, in 1698, Mr. Saltonstall wrote to him, "the election of this day hath been concluded with the joyful acclamations of all the people that your honor hath this Government devolved into your hands."

This leads to a second fact which naturally explains the action of the General Assembly in choosing him to the first office of the colony. From the time when he became pastor of the First Church, till the peace of Utrecht in 1713, there were constant difficulties with the Indians, who were set on by the French. In his capacity as a military officer, as a magistrate, and after 1698 as governor, Fitz-John Winthrop was active in all these warlike demonstrations. His relations to his distinguished parishioner would naturally give the young pastor a more than common insight into affairs. While Mr. Winthrop was at Albany, in 1690, Mr. Saltonstall wrote to him, July 17, of the appearance of strange vessels off Fisher's Island, which was then the property of Mr. Winthrop. These vessels were flying the English colors. They came up the river as far as Mamacoke. The next day they put out the French colors. They were fired upon from the shore, and retreated to the mouth of the harbor. Seven days later Mr. Saltonstall wrote to General Winthrop of an attack made upon the town by this same fleet. The letter opens as follows: "I doubt not but your honor hath received a letter of mine, bearing date the 17th inst., that being the day wherein the enemy made an attack upon this place." He continues, "there hath been proposal made (as I take it by Major Palmes) concerning a beacon to be placed on Mount Prospect, on your island, and that watch and ward be kept there, which I would desire your judgment of, if you think meet."

Six years later, August 6, 1696, he writes to Mr. Winthrop, who in 1690 had been appointed "Major General and Commander in Chief of the land army" [Trumbull Vol. 1, p. 492,] "you have been long looked for here, and the news of the French fleet designed upon this coast made me think you would be here to take some order about Fisher's Island. If the French fleet intend for New York (which may, I think, be supposed,) that island will lie

conveniently for them." Two hundred years ago, as now, Fisher's Island was thought to hold the key to the entrance of New York harbor.

These extracts from a somewhat voluminous correspondence, show that the wisdom, judgment and statesmanship of Mr. Saltonstall, while yet pastor, were often called into active service in public affairs. After Fitz-John Winthrop was made governor in 1698, this was even more true, for Palfrey says, in his history of New England, that Governor Winthrop was so disabled by gout during the last of his administration that most of his official correspondence was conducted by his friend and pastor, Gurdon Saltonstall. The editor of the Winthrop Papers [sixth series, Vol. III, Part 5, p. 411] says, "It is true that his health had long been a good deal impaired, and for this reason he more than once desired to be relieved of the governorship, but the people of Connecticut were unwilling that he should retire. It is also true that he had grown to place much reliance on the wisdom and capacity of Saltonstall, who was not only his intimate friend and neighbor, but the pastor of the church in which he worshipped."

This brings us to speak of a third fact, which helps to explain the choice of him as governor of the colony. Governor Winthrop went to Boston to attend the second marriage of his brother, Wait Still Winthrop, November 13, 1707. While there he was seized with the fatal illness which terminated in his death, November 27. As was his custom, he left his affairs in the hands of Mr. Saltonstall, as governor *pro tem.* At the death of Mr. Winthrop the management of public matters was in his hands, for Robert Treat, who was deputy governor, was advanced in years. His increasing infirmities were good reasons why he should no longer hold the reins of official power. Therefore, on the death of Governor Winthrop he summoned the General Assembly to New Haven to choose a successor in the gubernatorial office. December 17, 1707 that body convened. To whom would their thoughts more naturally turn than to the man who was acting as governor at that very moment, and whose experience in public affairs fitted him to hold the place as the choice of his peers? But the law of the colony then required "that the governor should always be chosen out of a list of magistrates nominated at the preceding election." But Mr. Saltonstall was not in nomination, and therefore was by statute ineligible. But at the special session Jan. 1, 1708, this law

was repealed, as we have seen, by the following vote : "this Assembly doth now see cause to repeal that part of said law, and it is hereby repealed" so that hereafter "the several freemen in the respective towns have liberty to choose for the governor and deputy governor, where they see cause, of all or any of the freemen within this colony." [Colonial Records, 1706-1716, p. 39.] The following appears among the Colonial Records [1706-1716, p. 39] : "January the first, 1708. The Hon. Gurdon Saltonstall, Esq., declared his acceptance of the place of governor, whereunto he was chosen by this Assembly, and the Governor's oath, by law required, was administered to him, according to the order of this Assembly, by persons thereunto appointed ; and the oath in such case required by Act of Parliament, respecting trade and navigation." In May of this year, 1708, he was chosen governor by the votes of the people. In the Colonial Records appears the following : "the persons appointed and sworn for the service, having received, sorted and counted the votes exhibited, declare as follows, viz : The Honorable Gurdon Saltonstall, Esq., is chosen Governor of this colony for the ensuing year." Thus he became governor by the will of the people.

Mr. Saltonstall did not enter upon his official life, nor did he continue in it, without opposition. His administration, as we shall see, had to deal with religious questions; with the boundary controversies which had perplexed previous administrations; with the military movements of the French and Indian War; with the financial problems which the expenses of the war and the narrow resources of the colony made all the more difficult of solution, and which had to be met by the issue of bills of credit. He was appointed commander in chief of the militia of the colony when he was chosen governor. In May, 1711, he was appointed judge of the superior court. The times demanded a strong hand at the helm. The colony found it in his hand. The pressure of duty was constantly on him. His uniform presence at his post, when official duty called him, shows that he avoided no responsibility.

But let us attend to some of the details of a somewhat remarkable official life. One of the first, and not the least memorable events of his administration, was the famous Synod of Saybrook, called by order of the Governor and the General Assembly, and which produced that venerable document, the Saybrook Platform. Proposals for a scheme of government by "a classical power above

the churches," had been made and defeated. On the 13th of May, 1708, the General Assembly of the colony, on account of "defects of the discipline of the churches of this government, arising from the want of a more explicit asserting of the rules given for that end in the holy scriptures," and for the "glory of Christ our head," ordered that the several ministers of the churches should meet, by previously appointed delegates, "at Saybrooke, at the next commencement to be held there," to prepare a "form of ecclesiastical discipline" to 'be offered to this court at their next session at New Haven in October next, to be considered and confirmed by them.' The result was the Saybrook Synod, which met September 9, 1708, at that place, which was at that time the seat of Yale college, and which prepared that venerable document already referred to, known as the Saybrook Platform. This was presented to the General Assembly, as ordered by that body, and the following vote was passed, October, 1708: "This Assembly do declare their great approbation of such a happy agreement, and do ordain that all the churches within this government that are or shall be thus united in doctrine, worship and discipline, be, and for the future shall be owned and acknowledged established by law; provided, always, that nothing herein shall be intended or construed to hinder or prevent any society or church that is or shall be allowed by the laws of this government, who soberly differ or dissent from the united churches hereby established, from exercising worship and discipline in their own way, according to their consciences." This vote was in accord with the ecclesiastical spirit of the Governor, and I may say of the times. A church, in some way connected with the state, was the thing. Ecclesiastical questions were settled by the Colonial Legislature. Pastors were called by vote of the town. But in this case the state churches were Congregational, and all others were dissenters; a privilege assured to them, as will be seen, by the vote just quoted.

It was during the administration of Governor Saltonstall that Yale College, which had been domiciled at Saybrook, was finally established at New Haven, by act of the General Assembly. This was not brought about without controversy. John Winthrop wrote to his father, Wait Still Winthrop, October 24, 1717, "There is great disturbance in the colony about the college. The last year Mr. Stonington Noyes was violent for keeping it at Saybrooke, or else they should lose the old Governor's legacy to it, but since his son

is settled in Mr. Pierpont's place and house, [Mr. Pierpont was one of the original trustees, and was pastor of the First Church in New Haven] he has without leave or order from the Assembly or trustees, moved it to New Haven, and ordered a building to be erected for the purpose, which is almost finished." That this young man was wrong appears from the fact that at a meeting of the trustees, held at Saybrook April 4, 1716, it was practically decided to move the college from that town. On the 12th of September commencement was held there, and the trustees adjourned to meet at New Haven on the 17th of October. This was the first meeting at New Haven, and the trustees voted that "considering the difficulties of continuing the collegiate school at Saybrooke, and that New Haven is a convenient place for it, for which the most liberal donations are given, the trustees agree to remove the said school from Saybrooke to New Haven, and it is now settled at New Haven accordingly." This vote, which was passed October 17, 1716, was declared legal by the upper house, at the October session of 1717. The commencement of that year was held at New Haven in September. The prompt action of the upper house, confirming the action of the trustees the year before (1716), was due, in part at least, to the influence of Governor Saltonstall, who favored the establishment of the college at New Haven. The vote, at the October session (1717), which advised the trustees "to proceed in that affair, and to finish the house which they have built at New Haven for the entertainment of the scholars belonging to the collegiate school," prevailed by thirty-six votes. This vote was modified by a vote to distribute one hundred pounds among the instructors of the college, in the three competing places, Weathersfield, Saybrook and New Haven, "according to the proportion of scholars under their tuition." At the commencement September 12, 1718, held at New Haven, the college was named after its most generous donor, Mr. Elihu Yale; his excellency, the Honorable Gurdon Saltonstall, was present, and "was pleased to crown the public exercises with an elegant Latin oration, in which he expatiated upon the happy state of the college, as fixed at New Haven, and endowed with so many benefactions. He particularly celebrated the generosity of Governor Yale, with peculiar respect and honor." On the 9th of October the same year (1718), the General Assembly passed a vote finally settling all controversy, and established the college in the town where the vote of the trustees had fixed it two

years before. Governor Saltonstall signed the act; and a letter, in which both houses of the General Assembly concurred, was sent to Mr. Yale "on behalf of the Governor and company," "rendering him thanks for his generous donation for the college, which amounted in all to nearly £500. Thus Governor Saltonstall's administration was identified with an educational movement of far-reaching importance, whose influence was to be felt to the remotest generations. He had a conspicuous hand in laying the foundations of one of the foremost universities not only of this, but of all lands.

Every colony had a representative at court. During much of the administration of Governor Saltonstall Sir Henry Ashurst, who seems to have succeeded Fitz-John Winthrop, acted in that capacity. As early as 1700 he wrote to Wait Winthrop from London, February 5: "I had yours with the enclosed bills of exchange for 200 pounds, to enable me the service of the Connecticut Colony as their agent here." In 1706, at the October session, the General Assembly voted to accept and pay a bill of £270 New England money drawn by him for services rendered and obligations assumed. To him, therefore, all addresses to the crown were sent; all claims were presented through him; all petitions to the crown were presented by him; he acted for the colony in defence of the charter, which was assailed by men like Andros and Dudley who were ambitious to govern New England. An exception appears, however, to be made in a single case, in which Governor Saltonstall was desired, by the General Assembly, to act as the agent of the colony, in the matter of "the address drawn up and agreed upon by the several governors at the congress at Rehoboth in this present month," (October. 1710.) The address was a memorial to the Queen, urging an armed descent upon Nova Scotia. In a letter dated New London, January 30, 1709, Governor Saltonstall wrote to Sir Henry Ashurst, "I sent your honor a memorial relating to the controversy between this Government and Massachusetts, about the dividing line." On the same date the Governor wrote to the Colonial agent, describing a forced march of one thousand men, under Colonel William Whiting, into Hampshire county, Massachusetts, to repel a threatened attack of Indians, asking aid of the home government to meet the necessary expense of this expedition which amounted to at least £20,000.

This properly brings us to note the poverty of the colony at

this time. Its agent often found it difficult to get pay for his services. There was no money in the colonial treasury. Several times resort was had to the issuing of bills of credit, to the amount of £33,500. However, provision was made for calling them in so that in 1713 only £20,000 were in circulation. In payment of taxes they were worth 5 per cent. premium; in payment of all other bills they were money at par value. Sir Henry Ashurst wrote February 13, 1710, complaining that bills amounting to £192 had not been paid. On the same date he wrote to Rev. Increase Mather of Boston, asking him to write to Governor Saltonstall, urging him (the Gov.) to accept his (Ashurst's) bills, and to send the money to Boston, that he had drawn on them, and they had promised to pay. These items, which are but examples, show the financial difficulties which multiplied about the administration of Governor Saltonstall. Nevertheless Connecticut paid its bills.

The boundary disputes, already alluded to, with the adjacent colonies were another source of perplexity and disquiet during Mr. Saltonstall's administration. These troubles had come over from the previous administration. As early as 1683 an agreement had been entered into, as to a boundary line between Connecticut and New York. On the 28th of March, 1700, King William confirmed this agreement. New York neglected to run her line; accordingly a committee was appointed by Connecticut, in 1710, at the October session of the General Assembly, to adjust the boundary line "according to the establishment thereof made by his late majesty, King William the Third, of happy memory, in council, the 28th day of March, A. D. 1700." The final settlement of the dispute was not made till May 14, 1731. [Trumbull, Vol. I, p. 422.] There were votes relative to this question at nearly every session of the colonial legislature from the time when Mr. Saltonstall assumed his office till his death in 1724.

The boundary line between Connecticut and Massachusetts was also in dispute; and the controversy between these colonies, became, often, a quarrel between the inhabitants of the respective states, in the border towns as to the ownership of property. This was true particularly of the towns of Windsor and Suffield. This controversy was also a legacy from the preceding century and administration. However, "upon the 13th of July, 1713, commissioners fully empowered from each of the colonies, came to an agreement which was adopted by each court." The vote of the

Connecticut Assembly sets forth that the instrument relating to the boundary line, having been "signed with the hands and sealed with the seals of all the aforesaid commissioners, which instrument being presented to this Assembly, was read and approved, ratified and confirmed" The decision gave to this colony 107,793 acres as an equivalent to the encroachment of Massachusetts upon its territory. "The whole," says Trumbull, "was sold in sixteen shares, in 1716, for the sum of £683 New England currency. The money was applied to the use of the college." This was but about a farthing an acre, and shows, first, how small the value of land was then, and second, that the expense to the original settlers of purchasing these lands from the Indians, and of defending them, was five or ten times their value. [Trumbull, Vol. I, p. 471.]

The Rhode Island boundary came up for discussion at the May session of the Assembly, 1714. Commissioners were appointed to have the matter in charge. But for some reason action was suspended for four or five years. Certain men of Rhode Island laid claim to lands in Voluntown. In consequence of this claim the boundary question came up again. William Pitkin, and John Plumbe, a surveyor of New London county, and such others as might be necessary, were appointed commissioners to take the matter in charge. The line was run April 12, 1720. At the October session of that year the Assembly passed the following resolution: "That proper acknowledgements, to be made to the honorable Governor for his great pains, industry, wisdom and prudence, improved in that affair concerning the line between this colony and Rhode Island." However, the line was not finally agreed upon till September 27, 1728. Trumbull says, "No colony, perhaps had ever a better right to the lands comprised in its original patent than Connecticut, yet none has been more unfortunate with respect to the loss of territory." [Vol. I, p. 473.] Long Island, which was part of the tract ceded by Robert, Earl of Warwick, March 19, 1631, to Sir Richard Saltonstall and ten others, and was included in the Connecticut colony, was given up, by the Assembly, to New York, out of deference to the Duke of York, to whom Charles the Second "granted a great part of the lands contained within its (Connecticut's) original limits," "for fear of offending those royal personages, and losing their (the colony's) charter." [Trumbull, Vol. I, p. 473.] The colony also lost considerable territory on the north and east, as well as the islands along the

coast. "Indeed," says Trumbull, "considering the enemies and difficulties with which they had to combat, it is admirable that they retained so much territory, and so nobly defended their just rights and liberties." In all these transactions during his administration, the hand of Governor Saltonstall was seen, as the vote of the Assembly declares.

Another of the perplexing problems which the colony was called upon to face, was the adjustment of claims made to lands by Owaneco and the Mohegans. The case was before a court, known as Dudley's court, from the fact that Joseph Dudley, Governor of Massachusetts, the sworn enemy of this colony, was its president. The claims of Owaneco were of course but unjustly granted, and a tract of land in the town of New London, known as Massapeag, a large tract lying in Lyme and Colchester, and also tracts in Windham, Plainfield, Lebanon and Canterbury, were made over to the claimants, and the colony was ordered to pay a bill of £573, 12s, 6d. Trumbull says, "thus a cause of such magnitude, in which the essential interests of a whole colony and the fortunes of hundreds of individuals were concerned, was carried wholly by intrigue and the grossest misrepresentations." This action was taken in 1705, but upon petition of the colony the case was reopened, and a commission of review was appointed. "The affair was kept in agitation nearly seventy years. It was always, upon a legal hearing, determined in favor of the colony. The final decision was by King George III, in council." [Trumbull, Vol. I, p. 449.] Thus it was settled that the title of the lands in dispute was in the colony of Connecticut. It was further decided by the commission that the Indians had been dealt with fairly and justly, and with "much humanity." This decision of 1743 pricks the bubble which they have blown up, who seek to make out a case of cruelty towards the Indians on the part of the Puritan white settlers.

These disputes were part of the persistent and systematic efforts of men like Joseph Dudley and Edmund Andros, to take away from Connecticut her royal charter. This instrument was granted April 20, 1662, by King Charles II. It confirmed to the colony "the whole tract of country granted by King Charles the First unto the Earl of Warwick," in the year 1630, and by him ceded the next year to Sir Richard Saltonstall and others. [Trumbull Vol. I, p. 259.] Various efforts were made at different times to

take away this charter. Thus October 31, 1687, Sir Edmund Andros assumed the government of the colony, in the name of the King, James II, and annexed it to Massachusetts. Thus, December 22, 1686, he wrote to Governor Treat: "I am commanded and authorized by his Majesty, at my arrival in these parts, to receive in his name the surrender of your charter, (if tendered by you) and to take you into my present care and charge." The colonists were not to be disposed of in this summary way. While the Assembly were debating whether to surrender the charter, which was lying upon the table where the Assembly were sitting, the lights were suddenly extinguished, and when they were relighted the charter had disappeared. One Captain Joseph Wadsworth had secretly and silently carried it away and hidden it in the hollow of an oak, known to fame from that time as the Charter Oak. At the May session of the General Assembly in 1715, the following vote appears, "Upon consideration of the faithful and good service of Captain Joseph Wadsworth, of Hartford, especially in securing the duplicate charter in a very troublesome season when our constitution was struck at, and in safely keeping and preserving the same ever since unto this day, this Assembly do, as a token of their grateful resentment of such, his faithful and good service, grant him out of the colony treasury the sum of twenty shillings." This bill finally became law, and therefore must have received the signature of Governor Saltonstall. [Colonial Records, 1706-1716, p. 507.]

An effort was also made before Parliament October 27, 1712, to vacate the charter. According to instructions from the Governor (Saltonstall) and Council, Sir Henry Ashurst defended the colony's rights successfully. The colony was in so sore financial straits that the Council were constrained to accept the offer of Governor Saltonstall to give the colony credit in England upon his own account. These attempts to merge this colony in some other, and to take away its charter, show the stubborn, and withal successful fight for existence which Connecticut was making during the administration of Governor Saltonstall. At the October session of the Assembly, in 1718, it was voted "that the secretary draw out a copy of the charter of this government and transmit the same, as soon as he can, to the printer, who is ordered to imprint the same, and take off at least two hundred copies thereof for the use of the inhabitants of this colony." At the session in May, 1720, it was voted to pay Timothy Green, of New London,

£4, 3s. 8d., for printing the charter. This charter, which was thus sturdily defended, and which the administration of Governor Saltonstall handed down to posterity in a printed form, continued in force, as the fundamental law of the state till 1818, and was the basis of the present constitution.

The times were stirring and tumultuous when Gurdon Saltonstall assumed the chair of office. It was during the French and Indian war. There was a running fight with the Indians, breaking out sometimes into such open violence as the Pequot war in the last half of the 17th century. The colonists were kept in a state of continual unrest. French vessels frequently appeared in the Sound and threatened the coast. At one time at least New London was fired upon. Two or three times between 1690 and 1713 Connecticut was called upon to furnish troops for expeditions against Canada. Miss Caulkins says, "Expeditions against Canada formed a marked feature of the colonial history of New England." On one occasion this colony furnished 350 men. In May, 1709, Governor Saltonstall wrote to Sir Henry Ashurst that the Queen's (Anne) order had been received, to join Massachusetts with 400 men, and proceed against Canada, and that these men had been raised according to Her Majesty's instructions. These enterprises were of frequent occurrence, and consumed the resources of the country without compensation. During the year 1711 French vessels appeared on the coast, and kept the people in a state of constant apprehension. During the same year French ambassadors visited Governor Saltonstall at his home in New London; for what purpose does not appear. In 1712 Governor Saltonstall carried out the suggestion which he had made to Fitz-John Winthrop in 1690, and erected a beacon on the west end of Fisher's Island, and placed a guard there to prevent surprise by the French privateers which infested the coast, and did considerable damage to the shipping of New London, and threatened New York.

Thus for the first five years of his administration Governor Saltonstall was as truly a war governor as was Governor Buckingham during the war of the rebellion. Taxes were high, rating at twenty-seven or twenty-eight pence a pound. October 8, 1713, there were only thirty-eight taxable towns in the colony, and forty sent delegates. Forty-five towns were under exclusive jurisdiction of Connecticut. The grand list of the colony was £281,083. Its militia amounted to about 4,000 effective men. Its population was

about 17,000. [Trumbull, Vol. 1, p. 476.] The tax of war upon so small a population of slender means must have been heavy. It therefore must have been a day of rejoicing when, August 22, 1713, the Governor and Council were able to proclaim to the colony the peace of Utrecht, which had been signed by the plenipotentiaries of England and France March 30, 1713. Thus five years of the administration of Governor Saltonstall had been disturbed by the vicissitudes of war, as well as by controversies with neighboring colonies.

There were other reasons why Governor Saltonstall did not find the gubernatorial chair an easy one in which to sit. The oppositions of jealousy, which a strong man is almost certain to awaken, added to the difficulties of the times, helped to make the cushion on which he sat anything but a soft one. One Mr. Witherell writes of "evil minded persons," who were doing their best to hinder the prosperity of the colony. This opposition was such that he seriously contemplated refusing to continue in the office. For a letter from Sir Henry Ashurst, written June 27, 1709, says, "I pray let no discouragements suffer you to entertain a thought of leaving the government God hath called you to. By what I have heard, there are none to supply your room." At the May session of 1715, the General Assembly passed a vote which shows that the enemies of this great and good man were still awake and active. The vote, as recorded in the Colonial Records [Vol. 1706-1716. p. 491,] is as follows, "This Assembly, having made enquiry after, and considered the representation which the honorable Governor made of some slanderous report, very grievous, supposed to be industriously scattered among the people by some ill minded and seditious persons, cannot understand the least ground for any such reports—do therefore desire the judges and justices would take utmost care for the suppressing of such ill practice; and do further signify their earnest desire that his honor would continue the service of God and his country in the office whereunto he is elected." This was complete and triumphant vindication of his honor, his purity, his integrity. But the most triumphant vindication against every slander was the fact of his yearly re-election by his fellow citizens from 1708 till he died in 1724. And it is to be remembered that, while governors were appointed for other colonies by the crown, Connecticut from the first insisted upon electing, and did elect, hers from among her own citizens. So that for sixteen and a half years Mr. Saltonstall was governor by the will of the people.

A man of his positive force of character could not well avoid exciting opposition, if not provoking conflict. John Winthrop, son of Wait Winthrop, and nephew of Fitz-John Winthrop, alludes to his excellency in terms which were disrespectful and unjust. This young man calls the governor of Connecticut "the great Hogen Mogen," says that he is two-faced, intimates that he is a Judas, a fallen angel, and so on. When it is remembered that Governor Saltonstall was an executor of the large estates of Fitz-John Winthrop, and that this young man was Mr. Winthrop's heir as well as namesake, we probably have a clue to the reason why the feelings of this impudent youngster were so violently exasperated. The injustice of these innuendoes against a man who was always careful to deal justly, who discharged all public trusts committed to him with the utmost probity, must be apparent to every one acquainted with the facts.

From the close of the French war in 1713, the duties which fell to him were those common to the office, and were only such as the times would demand. He was elected seventeen times to the office of governor. He was present at thirty-six sessions of the general court, and at two hundred and thirty-seven meetings of the governor and council, which were held at Hartford, New Haven, Saybrook and New London. As has appeared, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the colony's forces; was appointed in 1709 to represent the colony in England; was made judge of the superior court by vote of the General Assembly; assisted at the request of the same body in the revision of the laws of the state. In short, he discharged the duties of his high office in the most critical times of the colony, with the most signal ability, insomuch that his rare executive qualities were recognized abroad as well as at home. He was easily the first man of his times in Connecticut, and the encomiums pronounced upon him after his death cease to seem extravagant when the facts of his life are studied. He was governor in times which demanded a strong hand and an unflinching will at the head of affairs. His yearly reelection to office, till death took him away, shows that in the view of his peers, he was the man for the times. He was born to rule. There was the ring of command in his voice, and an aspect of authority in his mien. It must have been an imposing sight to see his excellency, when invested with the authority of the state, proceeding at the head of his household to the house of God, to engage in devout worship. It does not

require a very vivid imagination to hear the tramp of battalions in his majestic step, and to see the movement of armies in his dignified figure. He was by far the ablest governor which Connecticut had had. He easily commanded the place of honor.

He died suddenly at his home in New London, from a stroke of apoplexy, September 20, 1724, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and in the full possession of all his rare powers. The blow was felt throughout the colony. A vast concourse of people gathered at his funeral. The loss was mourned throughout New England, as well as Connecticut. He was buried with solemn religious ceremonies and imposing military honors, in a tomb which he had prepared, in that ancient cemetery, which deserves to be called New London's Burial Hill. He still sleeps in that historic spot where rests the dust of so many of the men and women who had a hand in laying the foundations of this matchless harbor town.

The high estimate put upon his worth of character and rare ability, may be learned from what was said of him after his death. The *Boston News Letter* of October 1, 1724, said, "At twelve the next day he expired, to the almost unexampled sorrow of all that saw, or since have heard of it, not only through all that government, but the whole land." Rev. Eliphalet Adams said in a discourse delivered at his funeral, "Who did not admire his consummate wisdom, profound learning, his dexterity in business, and indefatigable application, his intimate acquaintance with men and things, and his superior genius? And what was more than this, his unaffected piety and love to God's house, his exact life and exemplary conversation? In what part of learning did he not excel? He had mastered every subject which he undertook, and nothing could escape his penetration. How great did he appear whether in court or camp! He was an oracle in law, and no man was better read, either in the agitated controversies, or abstruse points of divinity."

Upon his death Dr. Cotton Mather, the famous Boston divine, preached a sermon October 1, 1724, "in commemoration of that good and great man, the Honorable Gurdon Saltonstall, Esq., late governor of Connecticut," which was "printed by T. Green, 1724," in New London. The text was Proverbs XI: 11, "By the blessing of the upright the city is exalted." Substituting the word "colony" for "city," he proceeds to set forth the doctrine that "A

city, yea, every society that has men of a right character in it, will by the blessing of such men, be remarkably blessed of God," and to apply it to Governor Saltonstall, in words like these, "Who are the men of rectitude (in our translation called the upright) whom every city or society they belong to, will always fare better for? A compendious, a comprehensive, and an unexceptionable answer might I at once give unto it, by only saying, 'Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright,' who was lately to be seen at the helm of the government of the colony of Connecticut." In a letter of condolence to Mrs. Saltonstall, he speaks of him as "one who had in him such uncommon collections of all that might render a person more precious than the golden wedge of Ophir." In closing his discourse Dr. Mather said, "We will not call him a star, but even a constellation of the most fulgid endowments." "And yet these were his lesser excellencies ; unspotted piety, inviolate integrity, exemplary humanity, were what yet more potently bespoke for him a place among the excellent of the earth." Speaking of his assuming the gubernatorial office, Dr. Mather said, he "looked on the government cast upon him, to be but a betrustment for which he was accountable to the glorious one, who is the Lord of all."

Much more might be quoted from the almost fulsome eulogies which, after his death, were pronounced upon our fellow townsman of a former generation. After making due allowances, we have left the irresistible conviction that we have been considering the life of a man who was uncommonly great. His ashes rest with us in the Saltonstall tomb on our Burial Hill. His descendants are passing away from our midst. Soon nothing will be left of the heroic men and women of those early times, but the graves in which their bodies repose, awaiting the summons of the Resurrection morning. They helped to lay the foundations of the greatest nation of modern times. They made their age famous and colossal. These annals have covered one of the most tumultuous periods of our colonial history. They have concerned some of the greatest men who figured in the early days of this most marvelous country. The chief figure among them all, who was prominent in the civil, social and ecclesiastical affairs of this colony and of this city for more than thirty years was GURDON SALTONSTALL.

ORDERS DRAWN BY THE SELECTMEN OF NEW LONDON.

JUNUARY 18, 1764—AUGUST 3, 1766.

MEMORAND^m. OF ORDERS DRAWN BY THE SELECTMEN ON THE TOWN TREASURER, 1764.

Jan^r 18. To an ord^r drawn in favour of [*space left for name*]
for cleansing the Small Pox house at Harbour mouth, £

To an ord^r in favour of Jonathan Truman for Sundry Services
done as Constable, 4-14-10

Feb^r 6. Memorand^m of an Agreement made wth Jerushia John-
ston to keep a Child of Elisabeth Mullindines which is disordered
wth a breaking out untill the first Munday of March (She haveing
kept S^d Child Two weeks Since before S^d Agreement) at 2/6 per
week.

To an ord^r drawn in favour of Asa Williams for keeping Wid-
dow Scrivenor, 0-16-[]

To an ord^r drawn on the Town Treasurer to Indorse the Sum
of £4-4-3^{s d} for Service done on the Poor house by Jedidiah Brown
on S^d Brown bond, 4-4-3

Agreed wth Cap^t Joseph Prentiss to take keep & maintain Ann
alias Christiane Lilley a transient woman with Child from the day
She lyes in for the Space of three weeks for the Sum of 13/ p^r week
and from this Date To the day She lyes in 5/ p^r week.

To an ord^r drawn on y^e Town Treasurer in favour of Thomas
Minor Constable for removing old Jones to Lyme 12/.

March 5th. Memorand^m of an agreement made wth Jerusha
Johnston and the Selectmen that She will take a Girl of Elizabeth
Mullindines till the age of 18 years being about the age of 4* years
the Town allowing her 5 pounds.

March 23. Memorad^m Hadlocks agreement Subscribed to.

Apr^r 2nd. To an ord^r drawn in favour of Doct^r James Rogers
for Visits and Medicines for Giles Harris, £2-0-9

*A faded mark before the 4 makes it possible that this may have been 14 years.

To an ord^r drawn in favour of Christo^r darrow for Service done for John Williams having the Small Pox, £2-14-7

To an ord^r drawn in favour of Tho^s Minard for Notifying the Select men of John Williams having the Small Pox, £0-6

To an ord. drawn in favour of Jerusha Johnston for tending & Taking Elizth Mulindines Child until it Comes to the age of 18 years old, £5-0

April 2, 1764. Memorand^m To an agreement made wth Cap^t Joseph Prentiss who complains that Christiana Lilley at his house hath a very Sore breast and needs help. Whereupon the Selectmen agreed wth S^d Prentiss to take care of her and that his wife doctor & nurse her till She S^d Lilley be recovered to Some good measure of health.

May 17th. To an ord^r drawn In favor of Ann Foster for Keeping Lydia Bump who was Pregnant and Miscarry^d at her house, £3-0-0

July 2. To an ord^r drawn on the Collect^r of the Town rate In favour of M^r James Mumford in full for his Town Rate, 1-8-[]

July 2nd 1764. Receiv^d. an ord^r. from the Selectmen on the Town Treasurer for Nine Pounds nine Shill[ings] & ten pence for which I am to pay S^d Sum To the Jury &c. for laying out a highway in the North Parrish in y^e year 1758 as the Bill was Taxed.

John Hempsted.

July 2. To an ord^r. drawn in favour of Stutely Scranton for Exchange of Land for Highway Near S^d Scranton, £3-0

July 10, 1764. Memorandum To an ord^r. Drawn on Town Treasurer in favour of Eliphalet Lester for Supporting Christopher Chappel with the Small Pox of which he Died, £22-0

Augst 6. To an ord^r in favour Hadlock, 2-0-0

To an ord^r in favour of Jer. Tabor & Luther, 1-9-8

To an ord^r drawn in fav^r of Martha Stark, 2-6-0

To an ord^r drawn in fav^r of Ezek^l Fox for Plank for Bridge, 5-15-0

To an ord^r drawn in fav^r of Clem^t Stubbins for removing Josh^a. Brooks and Improving his Stubbins house for Small Pox for Chris^t Chappal, 1-0-0

[N]ov^r 5. To an ord^r. Drawn in favour of M^r Clem^t Miner on Benja^a. Brown Jn^r for Three Cord of wood on David Lesters Land for Services Done for S^d Lester.

To an order Drawn upon Sam^{ll} Champlen to Diliver to Benjⁿ Brown Jn^r Sundry Articules in S^d Champlens hands as p^r Invoice &c.

Rec^d of Jon^s Smith by discount of Sundrys advanced for Jnⁿ Smith and wife who are Supported by the Town the Sum of £22-0 which he advanced for's Son Jonathan which Sum Eliphalet Lester recovered against S^d Son and paid by y^e Town.

Nov^r 5, 1764. Memorandom.

To an ord^r Drawn in favour of Cap^t Peter Harris for a Note of Hand Given by Mess^{rs} Charles Bulkley Nath^{ll} Shaw and Titus Hurlbut in behalf of the Town for £93-14-6 with Interest til paid. Given Dec^r 21st, 1761. S^d order being for £111-0-0 with Interest til paid.

To an ord^r Drawn in favour of John Wickwire for £3-7-6 for keeping Christia [] Lilleys Child 15 weeks @ 4/6 p week to Nov 3^d.

To an ord^r in fav^r of Will^m Darrow for 44/^s

Nov^r 13, 1764. To an ord^r Drawn in favour of George Denness of Norwich for Town Measures for the Sum of £7-4-11

Dec^{br} 3. To an Order Drawn in favor of Eph^m Brown for two pounds Nineteen Shillings & five pence for Sundr weights & Sundrys for the poor house.

To an Order Drawn in favor of Sam^{ll} Thompson for £1-6-0 for Transporting a parson out of town & Jack Wake into town & Sundrys &c.

To an order Drawn in favor of James Mumford for £8-12-1½ toward an accomp^t Exhibited p^r Jeth Elderkin for Sundrys &c.*

To an order Drawn in favor of Sam^{ll} Champlen for £3-1-0 part on accomp^t of Isaac Lester and part on accomp^t of Small pox affaire Ichobod Powers Jn^r.

Memorandom of an order Drawn upon Cap^t Sam^{ll} Champlen upon Eben^r Rogers accomp^t to pay Say^d Rogers four pound for making a Ditch David Lister.

To an ord^r Drawn in Favour of Doct^r John Elley for Service Done Doctering Lydia Green after Miscarying.

To an ord^r Drawn in favour of M^r John Hempsted for £77-9-1

To an Order Drawn In favor of Nathan Dowgless for £10-8-8¼ for Sundrys poor house & towne poor.

*Note in the margin: "Ye order not Exepd So not pd."

Dec^{br} 24. To an order Drawn in favor of Doc^t Thom^s Coit for £8-8-4 for Sundry for poor house to 28 of No^{br} Last.

To an order Drawn In favor of Stephen Hempsted for Laying high way @ foxes mill for £0-10-0

To an Order in favor of Je^h Chapman for £1-16-0 for Sundry Sarvices Dun for town Last year.

MEMORANDUM OF ORDERS DRAWN BY SELECTMEN OF N. LONDON
FOR YEAR 1765.

Jan^{ry} 24, 1765. To an Order Drawn in favor of Je^{rh} Miller Esq^r for £0-18-0

Feb^{ry} 4. To an Order Drawn in favor Cap^t Sam^l Champlen for Keeping Isaac Lester from July 176 [] till his Deth in Jan^{ry} 17th, 1765 for £11-8-0

6-0 added.

Memorandum of an Order to Sam^l Champlen on David Lesters accompt for Keeping S^d Lester 40^s/.

also to Benjⁿ Brown Jun^r Orders to take some wood of David Lesters Rockfield as S^d place Is Leas[ed] out to S^d Brown & in S^d Lease he is Restrained from Cuttin[g] wood in Consideration of Keeping S^d Lester till Spring.

Memorandum of Orders given to Mress Jn^o Crocker & wi^{ll} Camp for Suplying George Lefavours with nesesieray[s] they Taking the Advice of Cap^t Joshua Raymond.

To an Order Drawn In favor of Jona^t Starr for Suporting & burying an Indian Woman Named Patience for £2-12-0 in the year 1762.

Feb^{ry} 11. Memorandum of an Indenture of Patiance Tinker Bound to Sam^l Beebe 3^d.

Memorandum of agreement with M^{rs} English for Eliz^h. Waterman to Improve in her house for 10^s/ p^r Quarter.

March y^e 4th, 1765.

To an Order Drawn in favor of Doc^t John Ely payable to w^m Coit for Sundry accompts Exhibit^d on file on accompt of y^e Small pox for £7-3-6 with In^t till paid.

To an Order Drawn in favor of Corn^l Ep^t Dyer for Sundry Sarvices for town North parrish Road for £2-14-0 with In^t till paid.

To an order Drawn in favor of George Dolebear in part of Bill of Cost Tax for High way North parrish one half of S^d Bill is £3-3-9

To an Order Drawn in favor of George Minard for one half Bill Cost Tax North parrish for £3--3--9

To an Order Drawn in favor of John Wickwire for Keeping Christian M^{rs} Lilleys Child to this day £4-13-0

March y^e 9th we Rec^d James May into the poor house, ye 14th we Leagally warned S^d James May to Depart this Town in preasants of Stepⁿ Hempsted & Jn^o Hemp^d Jun^r

April 1. To an Order Drawn in favor of Cap^t John Bradford for £0-12-0 for Keeping hannah Wateras & Removeing her to Norwich.

To an Order Drawn in favor of thom^s Fargo for Keeping Widow Scribner for £1-0-11.

To an Order Drawn in favor of Cap^t Joshua Raymond for £1-8-8 for Sundrys as p^r Accompt on file.

April 11. Memorandon of Sundrys Advanced for Ezekiel Daniels on Town Accompt in Distress, £0-11-9

April 24. Memorandon of Sundrys advanced for Ann Calkings on Town Accompt about £0-4-6

May. To Sundry Advansed for @ twice, 0-6-0

May 3^d. To an order Drawn In Favor of James Horton for £0-11-3 Expences for Indien Com^{tee} &c.

To an Order Drawn In favor of Dito for Expences of Selectmen Laying out highway parrish for £1-0-6 as p^r accomp^t on file.

June 3. To an order drawn in favour Jedadiah Brown for work done for the Poor house the Sum of £4-6-0
an order drawn for S^d Sum.

To an Order Drawn In favor of John Plumb for Sundry Labour for poor house for £0-12-0

June y^e 28th, 1765. Memorandom. This day the Selectmen Recovered Judgment against Amos & John Lester for two thirds of there Fathers Support in Behalf y^e town. Also against John Ward for 20^s/ p^r Year toward the Support of his Mother Elizabeth Waterman.

July. To an Order Drawn in favor of James Rogers for Sundrys Advanc^d for towns poor, £2-15-[9]

To an Order Drawn in favor of Doc^t John Ely for Doctering Isaac Lester for Sundry year, £1-10-1

To an Order Drawn in favor of John Wickwire for Keeping Christian M^s. Lilleys Child to this first of July Instant for £3--16--[]

To an order Drawn in favor of Samⁿ Bill for Burying Lucretia Smith Child &c, £0--10--0

*To an order Drawn in favor of M^{rs} English for Quarters Rent for Elisebeth Waterman, £0--10--0

Aug^t 5th. To a drarbill† order Given Samⁿ Gustin to Rusull Hobbard for goods out of his Shop for trasporting Jack Wake from Lyme, £1--3--0

To an Order Drawn in favor of Cap^t Jo^s Printice for Keeping Nursing & Doctering Christina M^s. Lilley 12 weeks when She Lay in with her Bastard Child for £7--7--0

To an Order drawn in favor of Thom^s Fargo in part for Keeping Widdow Scribner for £1--6--0

To an Order Drawn upon Capt^t Hobbard in favor of Thom^s Fargo for Shift Cloath for the Widdow Scribner.

Sep^t 28.‡ To an Order Drawn in favor Prince Alden for Sarvice Dun for town on accomp^t of Abraham Palmer of Hebron for £4--2--0

To a Order Drawn in favor of John Gardiner for Clenseing Small Pox house after John Smiths Death for £0--12--0

Oc^t 2. To an Order drawn upon Colector Dougless in favor of Jedediah Elderkin for Sarvice for town, £9--0--0

Oc^t 7th, 1765.

To an order Drawn in favor Charles Jiffery for 30^s/ owin Dowgless to pay for Keeping Old Goddard. £1--10--0

To an Order Drawn in favor of Dito town Treasurer for 20^s/ to p^d to John Hempstid, £1--0--0

To an Order Drawn in favor of Thomas Minor for Sundry Sirvice dun for the town, £1--14--11

Oc^t 21. Memorandom of Postage of Jona^t Auston under the Inspection of George Dolbear.

Nov^r 4. To an order drawn upon the Town in favor of John Wickwire for keeping Christiana M^s Lilley Child from July the 1st to Novemb^r y^e 1st being 17 weeks and 4 days @ 4/6 p^r week, £4--0--0

*"Dated Ju[n]e last" is written in the margin of this order.

†This looks suspiciously like "barbill"; but "draw-bill" is suggested as the word intended.

‡In a marginal note under this date is recorded: "Elisabeth Waterman came in ye poor house."

To an ord^r drawn in fav^r of M^{rs} Follet for Looking after Elias Beebe's Children 10 days for fear of the Small pox, 20^s/

To an Order drawn In favor of George Richards to answer a bill of cost against y^e town m^{rs} Datons case, £6--1--6

21. To an Order drawn in favor of Elisha Minor for Service don for Elias Beebe in Small pox, £1--6--0

To an Order drawn in favor of Moses Warrin for Sarvice Dun for Elias Beebe in Small pox, £1--6--0

Dec^{br} 2, 1765.

To an Order drawn on Colletor in favor Thom^s Fargo for Keep- ing Sarah Scribner to y^e 22 of Dec^{br} Inst for £6--19--5

To an order drawn in favor of Cap^t Joshua Raymond on y^e Collector for Sundrys p^r his accom^t for £2--6--0

11th. To an Order Drawn in favor of Eph^m Brown on y^e town Treasurer for fixing p^r Scaeles for towns Uce & Sundry for poor house for £1--5--8

Deb^r 19. To an Order Drawn in favor of George B. Hurlbut on Town Treasurer & Sundry for Suplying people with the Small pox, £18--13--8

To an Order Drawn in favor John Bloy^d on Dito for Dito, £0--5--0

To an Order Drawn in favor John Hempsted for Silas Whip- ples Rates for £1--6--0

To an Order Drawn in favor Russel Hobbard for Dito on Dito, £1--17--9

To an Order Drawn in favor Jo^s Wicks for Dito on Colector for £0--18

To an Order Drawn in favor Rubin Hadlock for Sarvice dun y^e town on treasurer, £4--5--2

Dec^{br} 21^t. To an Order Drawn in favor of Cap^t []* Wheeler for Sundry Advanced on accom^t of F [] Smith a Soldier who had the Small pox @ John [] in Feb^{ry} Last, £0--[]

To an Order Drawn in favor of Decon Tho^s Fo [] for Sundry Adaned Small pox for Elijas Beebe, £5--1--[]

To an Order Drawn in favor of Sam^l Tabor for Small pox, £0--5--0

To an Order Drawn in favor of Joshua Moore for Sundrys for Elijas Beebe Small pox, £8--1--8

*A space enclosed with brackets signifies that words have been torn from the margin of the page.

To an Order Drawn in favor of Forten Alford for the Uce of
his Canoe Small pox, £0--5--0

To an Order Drawn in favor of John Chapman for 2 Days
Nursing Elias Beebe, £0--10--0

To an Order Drawn in favor of Mary Baker for Nursing Smaⁿ
pox for Elias Beebe, £2--13--0

To an order Drawn in favor Nathan Dowgliss for Sundry Ad-
vanced for Small pox, £4--8- 9½

To an Order Drawn in favor Russell Hobbard, £4--12--11½
and of Sundrys of Intrest for back orders, 6-- 1-- 0

£10--13--11½

[] To an order Drawn in favor of Mr []
Chapman for Sarvice Dun town, £2--11--1

[] James Rogers for Sundrys, £1--1--3

To an Order Drawn in favor Stephen Hempsted for Sundrys,
£0--18--0

To an Order Drawn in favor Cap^t T: Hurlbut for Sundrys,
£8--10--0

To an Order Drawn in favor Jn^o Hempsted for Sundrys for
poor House, £66--2--7¾

To an Order Drawn in favor Edward Palms for Sundry Ex-
pences Small pox 20/, £1--04--0

28th. To an Order Drawn in favor of Doc^t Fosdick for Docter-
ing Elisabeth Watermans finger, £7--3--0

31. Memorandom of An Indenture of Richard Otis Jn^r to
Cap^t George Kidd for five years.

Janry 6th, 1766.

To an Order Drawn in favor Jon^t Truman for Sarvice Dun
town for £2--9--4

Jan^{ry} 8th, 1766. Memorandom. This day Ann []
Brought to poor House She being Sick & not [able] to take care
of her Self. Jan^{ry} the 20th 1775 [she] Dyed att the poor house have-
ing Lived there 12 [days.]

Jan^{ry} 22. To an Order Drawn in favor of Elisha []
for Sarvice in Small pox on Colector for £[]

Feb^{ry} 3^d, 1766.

To an Order Drawn in favor of Joseph Hol [] for making
Shoos poor house for £1--3--10

To an Order Drawn in favor of John Wickwire for Keeping Christiania M^{rs} Lilleys Child from the 4th of Nov^{br} Last to this day for £2-18--6

To an Order Drawn in favor of Thadeus Beebe for Sarvice dun Small pox for £1-11--11

March, 1766. To an Order Drawn In Favor of James Horton town Treasurer for Sum £0--5--0

April 7th. To a Order Drawn In favor of Sam^l Holmes To Defray the Charge George Lefavors funeral on Colector for £1-10-6

May 26. To two Ordirs Drawn in favor of Thom^s Fargo for £4--10--0 in part for Keeping Sarah Scribner Since 22^d of Dec^{br} Last.

[] 1776.

[To] an Order Drawn In Favor of Nathan [Do]wgless for the Sum of £21-5--9 $\frac{1}{4}$

[]h Includes Sundry orders Drawn before (Viz)

[] order in favor George Richards, £6--1--6

[] in favor Jon^t Truman, 2--9--4

[] in favor Mary Baker, 2--13--0

[] in favor of himself, 4--8--9 $\frac{1}{2}$

[] of his accps to y^e 2 day of June Inst, 5--13--1 $\frac{3}{4}$

£21-5--9 $\frac{1}{4}$

To an Order Drawn In Favor of James Daniels for Sarvice Dun Smox pox, £0-6--3

Memorandum of an Order Drawn in favor Benjⁿ Atwell for Suporting his Father on Collectors for Town Rates from 1761 up to June 1766 &c.

To an Order Drawn In favor of John Wickwire for Keeping Christiana M^{rs} Liley from Feb^y 3^d to this day for £3--16--6

To an Order Drawn in favor of Ezeⁿ Fox for plank for bridges in parrish on town Treasurer for Sum of £2--8--0

To an Order Drawn in favor Thom^s Dinison for Removing an Calking to poorhouse, £0--5--0

1766. July 7th. To an Order to be Drawn in favor of Thom^s Fargo to Thom^s Minor for £3--0--0

So allow^d. If more Fargo to make it up. If Less the town make it up £3-5--0 paid.

To an order Drawn in favor of Dito on y^e Colector for £1--11--0 which is in full for Keeping Sarah Scribner to this day & Said

Fargo is Indebted to the town the Sum of £1--7--11½ & 5*/ on minors acc^t.

To an Order Drawn in favour of [] Hadlock for Sundry Service Dun for James May, []
Aug^t 4th.

To an Order Drawn in favour of Nathan [] for the Sum of £23--8--4 for Sundrys Advanced [] Peries (?) Chapmans haveing y^e Small pox in []
Memorandum that there is 2 Notes of hand Depo[sited] in S^d Dougless hand one in favour of Israel Morey of Hebron for y^e Sum of £19--0--0 the other in favour of Ralph & Elezar Pomroys Said Notes is Given in S^d Dougless favour & are to be Colected by S^d Dougless If posable for the Uce of the town.

Sept^t 1. Memorandum of an Indenture made of Joseph Stevens to Samⁿ Bradford.

To an Order Drawn in favour of Jona^t Starr for Sum of £0-18-0 for Coffin for w^m Cardell.

To an Order Drawn in favour of Cap^t Jo^s Prentice for Sundrys Advanc^d for Elizabth Mullendine for £2--0--0

To an Order Drawn in favour of Doc^t Raymond for Doc^{ting} George Lefavors in year 1766 for £1--8--0

To an Order Drawn in favour of M^r John Dougless For Doc^{ts} Bill for Doc^{ting} Benjⁿ Rogers Jos^h Son for £2--12--0

[To an] Order Drawn in favour of Doc^t John Ely []ys Visits & Advice about francis Smith, £1--4--0

To an Order Drawn in favour of Jon^t Smith for keeping John Smith & Wife from Octob^r 1764 untill may 16th 1766 for Sundrys as p^r his Acemp^t Exhibited for the Sum of Eighteen pound in full, £18-0-0

To an Order Drawn in favour of Jon^{at} Lee for three pounds 10/6 upon Colector Dowgless for Keeping Lydia Bump from Feb^y 15 to Sep^t 25th 1766, £3--10--6

Memorandum of an Order Given to Ezekiel Fox to Receive a Yoak of Oxen belonging to the Estate of Robert Waterhouse D^{cd} he answering Seven pounds ten Shillings to m^r Russell Hobbard on the towns accep^t. This Is Settled by Discount with Town.

J. H.

Nov^{br} 3. Memorandum of an Order Given to Jn^o Hewson to Nathan Douglass for £0--5--6

Memorandon of an Indenture made of Comfort Chappel to Amos Bolls.

Memorandum of an Indenture of Sylvester Minor to Ezekiel Pemberton.

To two Orders Drawn in favor John Wickw[ire] for Keeping M^s Lilleys Child to this day for £5[]

To two Orders Drawn in favour of Thom^s[Fargo] for Keeping Widdow Scribner in full to y^s day for £2[]

To an Order Drawn in favour Mehitibal Huntley Alis Beebe for Nursing a Rob^t Waterhouss in full for £0--8--6

Dec^{ber} 1. To an Order Drawn in favour of Doc^t James Rogers for the Sum of 20^s/ for Doctering Persilla Thursten a Transhant person on Town Treasurer, £1--0--0

To an Order Drawn in favour of Cap^t Nathan Dowgliss for Sundrys Advans^d for town on y^e Treasurer, £1--8--0

To an Order Drawn on y^e town Treasurer In favour of Elisha Fox for 250 foot of plank for a Bridge over Stoney Brook by Eben^r Williams for 25^s/, £1--5--0

Memorandum of an Agreement Made with m^r W^m Dowgless for Keeping Rufus Manwering from may Last untill the first of May Next and finding S^d Rufus with Sutable Cloathing & vitleing for the Sum of £1--10--0

Dec^{br} 11. To an Order Drawn in favour of Sam^l Leach for burying a Soldier in 1762 for £0--11--6

[To] two orders Drawn in favour of Cap^t John [Bra]dford for the Sum of £3--13--9

[] Expenses of Select men Laying out high ways in the North parrish.

[To] an Order Drawn in favour of Ezek^l Fox for Sarvice Dun Laying out highways & for Keeping Eliz^b Mullendine for the Sum of £3--10--0

To an Order Drawn in favour of Stephen Hempsted for Sur-veyeing about highways for y^e Sum of £1--17--6

To an Order Drawn in favour of John Hempsted for Sundrys advanc^d for poor house & Sundrys &c, £26--4--10½

To an Order Drawn in favour of W^m Dowgliss for Sundry Sar-vice^s Dun for town poor house, £

To an Order Drawn In favour of Edward Palmes for Sundry Services Dun for town house &c, £5--4--1

To an Order Drawn In favour Cap^t Stephen Prentice for Sar-vice Dun for town &c for the Sum, £0--18--0

Memorandum of an agreement Made with Jedediah Calkings to

winter the towns Cow for 4 Dollers and he to Keep Said Cow from this time to the 10 of May Next. April 6* agreed he to have the Calf @ 14^s/ to come out of y^e above 25^s/, Due 11^s/

Dec^{br} 22. To an Order Drawn In Favour Cap^t T: Hurlbut on Colec^{tr} Sarvice Dun Laying Highways &c for Sum £1--19--0

To an Order Drawn in favour m^r Jer^h Cha [] for Laying Highways & Sundry Sarvice Dun for £[]

To an Order Drawn in favour of Doc^t Thom^s [] for Doctering @ poor house in full Since No^{br} 176 [] this day for Sum of £39--[]

To an Order Drawn in favour of Jason A [] for Vitle-ing Selectmen when Laying Highway, £0 []

1767, Jan^{ry} 17. To an Order Drawn in favour Thom^s Hems [ted] for Carting poor house, £0--12--0

Feb^{ry} 22. To an Order Drawn in favor of Chris^{tr} Darrow Jn^r to pay y^e Jury & Charges of Laying or Altering a highway in the N: parish @ y^e Motion of Joshua Raymond for £4--19--[]

Feb^{ry} 2, 1767. To an Order Drawn in favour Thom^s Fargo for Keeping the Widdow Scribner for Sum £2--10--0

To an Order Drawn in favour Nathan Comstock for Sarvice dun town for Sum £0--6--0

Memorandum of an Indenture of Christopher Leach Son of Sam^l Leach Jn^r Made to John Gorton.

To an Order Drawn in favour of Doc^t Raymond for Doc^t Mary Fargo & Nursing Last year for £3--17--6

Memorandum of an Order Drawn in favour of Benjⁿ Kelley for 6/ on Colector for Releaf of his Daugher in Suffering Condition.

[Memor]andum of an Indenture Starten Daniles to [] Curtice of Hebron.

[March] y^e 2^d, 1767. To an Order Drawn in favour of Thom^s [Farg]o for Sum of £3--2--9 In full []

keeping y^e widdow Scribner to y^e 3^d day of Instant March [in consider]asion of 9^s/8 Due to Ezek^l Fox from S^d Fargo & S^d Sum Due to S^d Fargo from S^d town.

[To] an Order Drawn in favour of John Wickwire for Keeping M^s K. Lilleys Child to 3^d day of Instant march for Sum of £2--11--0

To an Order Drawn in favour of James Brooks for Sundrys Advanc^d for Sam^l Williams as p^r accomp^t on file, £1--1--8½

*This is evidently a later insertion.

Memorandum of a Order given to Sam^{ll} Champlen to Let M^r Right one Bushell Corn.

March 12. Memorandum of an Order Drawn in favour Sam^{ll} Thompson 2^d for Shoos poor house for £0--11--0

April 6th. Memorandum of An Agreement made with m^r Pember to keep Vanintine Manwering for fourteen pence p^r week from the first of Dec^r Last untill further orders.

To an Order Drawn in favour of Thom^s [] on Collect[or] for keeping Valintine Manwering for Sum £[]

To an Order Drawn in favour of Ep^b B[] for Smith work Dun for Town for £0--1[]

To an Order Drawn in favour of John Raym[ond] on Colector Sundrys for poor house, £1--19--[]

Memorandum of an Order Drawn in favour of Jona^t Smith on town Treasurer for Sum of £36--13--0

S^d Sum is Contained in four Orders before Drawn & now Destroyed.

To an Order Drawn in favour of Cap^t Nathan Dougless in full of Sundry Orders Drawn before for £9--17--7

To an Order Drawn in favour of Cap^t Guy Richards In full of Sundry orders Drawn before for £19--8--2

June 1. Memorandon of a Indenture Made of Thom^s Quinly to John Hempsted.

Memorandum of a Indinture Made of Lucretia Skarrot to James Cook Ju^r of Norwich.

To a Order Drawn in Favour of John Wickwire for keeping Christian M^s Lilleys Child from 3^d of March to y^e 3^d of June Instant In full for Sum of £2--5--6

To an Order Drawn Upon Cap^t Champlen to Let Widdow Elizebeth Wright 1 Bush^{ll} Corn.

[] Stephen Mogen 10 year old Sep^t Last.

[June] 9th, 1766. Ann Gardiner Left y^e poor house and went to Eze^{ll} Foxes upon Trial.

[July] 1^t. To an Order Drawn In Favour of Morriss Fowler for Digging grave for Mary Tinker for £0--6--0

[D]ito to an order to Nathan Dougless 30^s/ in part mary Tinkers accomp^t.

[July] 6. To an Order Drawn in Favour of Cap^t Titus Hurlbut upon Accep^t of Thom^s Fargo for Keeping Widdow [Scrib]ner for the Sum £2--0--0

To an Order Accepted to pay to Eezek^{ll} Fox 20^s/ for Thom^s Fargo for Keeping widdow Scribner.

To an Order Drawn in favour of M^{rs} Pember for Keeping Valentine Manwering in full for £0--10--0

Aug^t 3^d.* To an Order Drawn in favour of Thom^s Fargo for Keeping widdow Scribner in full Except Cloathing for sum of £2--10--0

To an Order Drawn in favour of Jo^s Holt for Shoos for poor house as p^r accep^t on file for £0--9--0

To an Order Drawn in favour Timothy Lester upon accep^t of an order Drawn by the Selectmen on town Treasurer in 1762 on David Lesters accep^t for 22^s/ for which S^d Lester is Indebted to y^e town.

To an Order Drawn in favour of Jo^s Hurlbut Jn^r for Sundry advanc^d for Small pox in 1762, £3--14--4

Memorandum of an Indenture Made of Amos Minard to Benjⁿ Atwell 2^d.

*In the margin is a note: "to ye 4 of []

MEMOIRS of GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Esq., Commander in Chief of the American Forces; with a Striking Likeness of him elegantly engraved.**

GENERAL WASHINGTON is the third son of Mr. Augustine Washington, a man of large property and distinguished reputation in the province of Virginia. An ancestor of this gentleman, about the period of the Revolution, sold his property, near Cave, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and came over to Virginia, where he purchased lands in King George's County; and it was here that the General was born on the 22d of February, 1733. In this county he has at this time three brothers, Samuel, John and Charles, all gentlemen of considerable landed property, and a sister who is married to Col. Fielding Lewis. His elder brother Lawrence, who went out a Captain in the American troops, raised for the expedition to Carthage, married the daughter of the Hon. William Fairfax, of Belvoir, in Virginia, by whom he left one daughter, who dying young, and his second brother also dying without issue, the General succeeded to the family-seat, which, in compliment to the gallant Admiral of that name, is called Mount Vernon, and is delightfully situated on the Potomack River, a few miles below Alexandria. General Washington is the eldest son by a second marriage; and, having never been out of America, was educated (as youths of fortune in that country generally are) under the eye of his father by private tutorage. A slight tincture of the Latin language, a grammatical knowledge of his mother-tongue, and the elements of the mathematics, were the chief objects he was taught to pursue. For a few years after he quitted his tutor, he applied himself to the practical part of surveying (a knowledge of which is essentially requisite to men of landed property in this country) and was appointed surveyor to a certain district in Virginia; an employment rather

*An article which appeared under this title in *The Universal Magazine*, of London, in March, 1781, six months before the surrender of Cornwallis. The sketch of Putnam printed upon page 50 was published in a supplement to the issue of the December following.

Volume 68 of *The Universal Magazine* (January, 1781, to January, 1782,) contains in each number papers relating to America or dispatches from the British forces in this country, and has recently been given to the Society by Mr. Henry R. Bond.

creditable than lucrative ; though it afforded him an opportunity of chusing some valuable tracts of land, and made him thoroughly acquainted with the frontier country.

In 1753, when the Governor and Council of Virginia received orders from England to repel by force the encroachments of the French on the western frontiers, along the rivers Ohio and de Boeuf, Mr. Washington, then a Major in the provincial service, and an Adjutant-general of their forces, was dispatched by Governor Dinwiddie, with a letter to the Commander in chief of the French on the Ohio, complaining of the inroads they were making in direct violation of the treaties then subsisting between the two crowns; he had also instructions to treat with the six nations, and other western tribes of Indians, and to engage them to continue firm in their attachment to England. He set out on this perilous embassy, with about fifteen attendants, late in October; and so far succeeded, that, on his return with Monsieur de St. Pierre's answer, and his good success in the Indian negociations, he was complimented with the thanks and approbation of his country. His journal of this whole transaction was published in Virginia, and does great credit to his industry, attention, and judgment; and it has since proved of infinite service to those who have been doomed to traverse the same inhospitable tracts.

Soon after this, the designs of the French becoming more manifest, and their movements more daring, orders were issued out by Administration for the colonies to arm and unite in one confederacy. The Assembly of Virginia took the lead, by voteing a sum of money for the public service, and raising a regiment of four hundred men for the protection of the frontiers of the colony. Major Washington, then about twenty-three years of age, was appointed to the command of this regiment, and before the end of May, in the ensuing year, came up with a strong party of the French and Indians, at a place called Red-stone, which he effectually routed, after having taken and killed fifty men. Among the prisoners was the celebrated woodsman, Monsieur de La Force, and two other Officers, from whom Col. Washington had undoubted intelligence, that the French forces on the Ohio consisted of upwards of one thousand regulars, and some hundreds of Indians. Upon this intelligence, altho' his little army was somewhat reduced, and intirely insufficient to act offensively against the French and Indians, yet he pushed on towards his enemy to a good post ; where, in order

to wait the arrival of some expected succor from New-York and Pennsylvania, he entrenched himself, and built a small fort, called Fort Necessity. At this post he remained unmolested, and without any succor until the July following: when his small force, reduced now to less than three hundred men, was attacked by an army of French and Indians of eleven hundred and upwards, under the command of the Sieur de Villiers. The Virginians sustained the attack of the enemy's whole force for several hours, and laid near two hundred of them dead in the field, when the French Commander, discouraged by such determined resolution, proposed the less dangerous method of dislodging his enemy by a parley, which ended in a capitulation. It was stipulated, that Col. Washington should march away with all the honours of war, and be allowed to carry off all his military stores, effects, and baggage. This capitulation was violated from the ungovernable disposition of the savages, whom the French Commander could not restrain from plundering the provincials on the outset of their march, and from making a considerable slaughter of men, cattle, and horses. This breach of the capitulation was strongly remonstrated against by the British Ambassador at the court of Versailles, and may be looked upon as the æra when the French court began to unmask, and to avow (though in a clandestine manner) the conduct of their Governors and Officers in America. They redoubled their activity and diligence on the Ohio, and in other places, during the winter of 1754, and the following spring. Virginia had determined to send out a larger force; the forts Cumberland and Loudon were built; and a camp was formed at Wills Creek, in order thence to annoy the enemy on the Ohio. In these several services (particularly in the construction of the forts) Colonel Washington was principally employed, when he was summoned to attend General Braddock, who with his army arrived at Alexandria, in Virginia, in May, 1755. The design of sending out that army was to penetrate through the country to Fort Du Quesne (now Fort Pitt) by the route of Wills Creek; and, as no person was better acquainted with the frontier country than Colonel Washington, and no one in the colony enjoyed so well established a military character, he was judged highly serviceable to General Braddock, and cheerfully quitted his command to act as a Volunteer and Aid du Camp under that unfortunate General. The particulars of the defeat, and almost total ruin of Braddock's army, consisting of two thousand regular

British forces, and near eight hundred provincials, are too well known to need a repetition. It is allowed on all sides, that the haughty behaviour of the General, his high contempt of the provincial Officers and soldiers, and his disdainful obstinacy in rejecting their advice, were the causes of this fatal disaster. With what resolution and steadiness the provincials and their gallant Commander behaved on this trying occasion, and in covering the confused retreat of the army,* let every British Officer and soldier confess, who were rescued from slaughter on that calamitous day by their valour and conduct.

After General Braddock's disaster, the colony of Virginia found it necessary to establish her militia, to raise more men, to strengthen her forts, and to undertake expeditions to check the inroads of the enemy, In all these important services Colonel Washington bore a principal share, and acquitted himself to the utmost satisfaction of his country, by displaying, on every occasion, the most persevering industry, personal courage, and military abilities. He was again appointed to the command of the Virginia troops, and held it with signal credit till his resignation in 1759, when he married his present lady, the young widow of Mr. Curtis. With her he had a fortune of twenty thousand pounds sterling in her own right, besides her dower in one of the principal estates in Virginia. From this period he became as assiduous to serve the State as a Senator, as he had hitherto been active to defend it as a soldier. For several years he represented Frederick County; and had a seat for Fairfax county, at the time he was appointed by the Assembly, in conformity with the universal wishes of the people, to be one of their four delegates at the first general Congress. It was with no small reluctance that he engaged again in the active scenes of life; and, from every thing that has hitherto appeared in the character and conduct of this extraordinary man, it may easily be believed, that no motives but such as spring from a most disinterested patriotism could have ever prevailed upon him to relinquish the most refined domestic pleasures, which it was ever in his power to command, and the great delight he took in farming and in the improvement of his estate. General Washington is, perhaps, the greatest land holder in America (the proprietors of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the Northern Neck excepted); for, besides

*See Captain Orme's Letter to Governor Dinwiddie, and also the other Accounts of that Day.

his lady's fortune, and ten thousand pounds falling to him by the death of her only daughter, he has large tracts of land taken up by himself early in life, some considerable purchases made from Officers who had lands allotted them for their services; and has, moreover, made great additions to his estate at Mount Vernon. It is impossible in this country, as in England, to rate the value of estates by their annual rent or income, because they are universally tilled by negroes, and in the hands of landholders. General Washington's, however, will not be over-rated, if set down at a good four thousand pounds English per annum, and his whole property could not be bought for forty years purchase.

When it was determined at length, in Congress, after every step towards an accommodation had failed, and every petition from America had been scornfully rejected, to repel by force the coercive measures of Great Britain, the eyes of the whole Continent were immediately turned upon Mr. Washington. With one common voice he was called forth to the defence of his country; and it is, perhaps, his peculiar glory, that there was not a single inhabitant of these states, except himself, who did not approve the choice, and place the firmest confidence in his integrity and abilities. He arrived at Cambridge, in New-England, in July, 1775, and there took the supreme command of the armies of America. He was received at the camp with that heart-felt exultation which superior merit can alone inspire, after having in his progress through the several states received every mark of affection and esteem which they conceived were due to the man, to whom the whole continent looked up for safety and freedom.

As he always refused to accept of any pecuniary appointment for his public services, no salary has been annexed by Congress to his important command, and he only draws weekly for the expences of his public table and other necessary demands. General Washington, having never been in Europe, could not possibly have seen much military service; yet still, for a variety of reasons, he was by much the most proper man to be placed at the head of an American army. The very high estimation in which he stood for integrity and honour, his engaging in the cause of his country from sentiment and conviction, his moderation in politics, his extensive property, and his approved abilities as a Commander, were motives which necessarily obliged the choice of America to fall upon him. That Nature has given him extraordinary military talents will

hardly be controverted by his most bitter enemies; and, having been early actuated with a warm passion to serve his country in the military line, he has greatly improved them by unwearied industry, and a close application to the best writers upon tactics, and by a more than common method and exactness: and, in reality, when it comes to be considered, that at first he only headed a body of men intirely unacquainted with military discipline or operations, somewhat ungovernable in temper, and who at best could only be styled an alert and good militia, acting under very short enlistments, unclothed, unaccoutred, and at all times very ill supplied with ammunition and artillery; and that with such an army he withstood the progress of near forty thousand veteran troops, plentifully provided with every necessary article, commanded by the bravest Officers in Europe, and supported by a very powerful navy, which effectually prevented all movements by water: it may hereafter be pronounced, perhaps, that General Washington was one of the greatest military ornaments of the present age.

General Washington is now in the forty-ninth year of his age. He is a tall well-made man, rather large-boned, and has a tolerably genteel address. His features are manly and bold; his eyes of a bluish cast, and very lively; his hair a deep brown; his face rather long, and marked with the small pox; his complexion sunburnt, and without much colour; and his countenance sensible, composed, and thoughtful. There is a remarkable air of dignity about him, with a striking degree of gracefulness. He has an excellent understanding, without much quickness; is strictly just, vigilant, and generous; an affectionate husband, a faithful friend, a father to the deserving soldier; gentle in his manners; in temper rather reserved; a total stranger to that bigotry, which has so often excited Christians of one denomination to cut the throats of those of another; in his morals irreproachable; he was ever known to exceed the bounds of the most rigid temperance: in a word, all his friends and acquaintance universally allow, that no man ever united in his own person a more perfect alliance of the virtues of a Philosopher with the talents of a General.

Such is the great character which General Washington has acquired amongst his countrymen: nor do we find that it has been disallowed, even by his bitterest enemies in this island. His humanity, however, has received no additional lustre from his severe treatment of the late unfortunate Major Andre. Whatever may be

the opinion of military casuists on this point it is certain that Cruelty never atchieved such glorious conquests as Humanity. The ordinary laws of war may, to little minds, be deemed inviolable; but the truly great man, unactuated by the meaner views of politics, will find occasions, in which he may nobly triumph over common forms. As to the military talents of this General, every volume of our Magazine will enable our readers to judge of them in that ample History we give every month of the unhappy Disputes between Great Britain and the American Colonies.

ANECDOTES of the late celebrated American General PUTNAM.

[From the General History of Connecticut.]

WE read that *David slew a lion and a bear, and afterwards that Saul trusted him to fight Goliath.** In Pomfret lives Colonel Israel Putnam, who slew a she-bear and her two cubs with a billet of wood. The bravery of this action brought him into public notice: and, it seems, he is one of Fortune's favourites. The story is as follows:—In 1754, a large she-bear came in the night from her den, which was three miles from Mr. Putnam's house, and took a sow out of a pen of his. The sow, by her squeaking, awoke Mr. Putnam, who hastily ran in his shirt to the poor creature's relief; but before he could reach the pen, the bear had left it, and was trotting away with the sow in her mouth. Mr. Putnam took up a billet of wood, and foilowed the screamings of the sow, till he came to the foot of a mountain, where the den was. Dauntless he entered the horrid cavern; and, after walking and crawling upon his hands and knees for fifty yards, came to a roomy cell, where the bear met him with great fury. He saw nothing but the fire of her eyes; but that was sufficient for our Hero; he accordingly directed his blow, which at once proved fatal to the bear, and saved his own life at a most critical moment. Putnam then discovered and killed two cubs; and having, *though in Egyptian darkness*, dragged them and the dead sow, one by one, out of the cave, he went home, and calmly reported to his family what had happened. *The neighbours declared, on viewing the place by torchlight, that his exploit exceeded those of Sampson or David.* Soon afterwards the General Assembly appointed Mr. Putnam a Lieutenant in the army marching against Canada. His courage and good conduct raised him to the rank of Captain the next year. The third year he was made a Major; and

*In a note at this point the editor says:

"The Anonymous Author of this work, who writes with extreme virulence against the Americans, frequently introduces these Scripture allusions, with an apparent view of ridiculing all the religious sects in Connecticut, except the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, and the Sandemonians. He is undoubtedly well-informed in the History of this country; but how far such an excess of party rage may invalidate that credit, which might otherwise be due to his History, must be left to the Moderate, the Candid, and the Discerning."

the fourth a Colonel. Putnam and Rogers were the Heroes through the last war. Putnam was so hardy, at a time when the Indians had killed all his men, and completely hemmed him in upon a river, as to leap into the stream, which in a minute carried him down a stupendous fall, where no tree could pass without being torn in pieces. The Indians reasonably concluded that Putnam, their terrible enemy, was dead, and made their report accordingly at Ticonderoga; but soon after, a scouting party found their sad mistake in a bloody rencontre. Some few that got off declared that Putnam was yet living, and that he was the first son of Hobbamockow, and therefore immortal. However, at length, the Indians took this terrible warrior prisoner, and tied him to a tree; where he hung three days without food or drink, They did not attempt to kill him for fear of offending Hobbamockow; but they sold him to the French at a great price. The name of Putnam was more alarming to the Indians than cannon, and they never would fight him after his escape from the Falls. He was afterwards redeemed by the English.

The Act of Incorporation allows the New London County Historical Society to hold property, and any bequest may be made for specific purposes, as fund for permanent building, for printing, or for the general expenses of the society, as desired.

The form for such bequest is as follows :

I give and bequeath to the New London County Historical Society, the sum of.....dollars the same to be applied to the.....fund of said society, to be used under the direction of the officers of said society for the purpose named.

REPORT

OF

THE ANNUAL MEETING,

1893.

The annual meeting of the New London County Historical Society was held on Wednesday, September 6, 1893, in the Society's room in the Public Library building, of New London, Connecticut, the Hon. C. A. Williams, president, in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

The treasurer, C. B. Ware, Esq., read his report, showing the receipts for the past year to have been \$256.36, and the expenditures \$225.06, leaving a balance of \$31.30. He also said that the society had a printing fund of \$50 and a miscellaneous fund of \$125 in the Savings Bank of New London.

The secretary, Thomas S. Collier, Esq., then read his report.

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

Mr. President:

The secretary would respectfully report that contributions have been received from the following persons and societies:

Books and pamphlets from the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Haven Colony, Dedham, Hyde Park, Fairfield County, Buffalo, Western Reserve, Oneida County, Old Residents of Lowell, Ohio, Philadelphia, Archaeological, Kansas State, Iowa and New York Historical Societies; from Yale, Harvard, Oberlin, Trinity, Leland Stanford and Pennsylvania Universities; from the New York State Library, the Boston and San Francisco Public Libraries, the Salem Press; and from Hon. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., of Boston, Hon. C. A. Russell, Hon. John T. Wait, Mrs. Lora C. Learned, Mrs. Mary L. Elliot, C. B. Ware, A. D. Osborn, the Connecticut State Library, C. W. Park and the secretary. Curiosities

have been received from Mrs. M. L. Elliot and Elihu H. Potter ; and George T. Marshall has presented the society with several fine autographs of different Presidents.

Mr. Potter's contribution is an interesting local land-mark of Groton.

Mr. Winthrop's contribution, a full set of the published Winthrop Papers, is an exceedingly valuable one, and the contributions for the year are fine additions to our collection.

The secretary is pained to report the death of Jas. E. Goddard, Esq., an old and valued member.

Respectfully submitted,

THOS. S. COLLIER, Secretary.

The reports of the treasurer and secretary were accepted and ordered on file, and the old board of officers was re-elected.

Arrangements for a mid-winter meeting in Norwich were discussed, and the matter was left in the hands of a committee composed of the president, secretary, the Hon. Benjamin Stark, Dr. S. L. Blake and Major B. P. Learned.

The Hon. C. A. Williams and C. B. Ware, Esq., were appointed a committee to consider the purchasing of a cabinet and to see to the binding of valuable books, pamphlets, etc.

The Rev. Dr. Blake spoke of the need of obtaining photographs, before it is too late, of some of the old and historic houses of New London and vicinity that may soon be removed. The Hempstead house, the Robinson house on Ocean avenue, and the James Avery place at Poquonoc, once the old New London meeting-house, and which was moved from here to Poquonoc, were mentioned. Dr. Blake suggested also that some of the gravestones in the First burying ground should be re-cut.

Mr. Williams replied that those members of the society who owned cameras ought to see their duty plain before them in the matter of furnishing photographs.

A vote of thanks to those who had given curiosities and relics was passed, and the Hon. Benjamin Stark and John McGinley, Esq., were appointed a committee to draft resolutions of respect to the memory of the late James E. Goddard.

The meeting then adjourned until the afternoon session, held at 2.30 o'clock in the Parish house, at which the Rev. Dr. Blake read a paper on the life and services of Gurdon Saltonstall.

REPORT OF A SPECIAL MEETING,

NOVEMBER 2, 1893.

A meeting of the New London County Historical Society was held on Thursday, November 2, 1893, in its room in the Public Library building.

After the meeting had been called to order, the Hon. C. A. Williams, president, rose and said :

"This special meeting of the New London County Historical Society has been called in order that action may be taken looking towards the appointment of a secretary in succession to the late Mr. Collier. Before proceeding to the stated business of the meeting, I desire briefly to express the sense of loss realized by the death of our late secretary. Mr. Collier was a man eminently fitted by natural gifts to fill the position now vacant. In addition he brought to the work a devoted loyalty and unwearied perseverance. At a time when interest languished he became the center and stay of a new movement, and with patient energy worked steadily for the best interests of the association. His efforts largely increased the roll of membership, and the contributions from his pen added value to the papers of the society. He has been taken from his work, and those who were here associated with him sincerely mourn the loss sustained, and unite in the desire that his memory may be fittingly commemorated."

A committee consisting of the Hon. C. A. Williams, Mr. Walter Learned and Mr. George F. Tinker was chosen to recommend a successor to Mr. Collier, and the meeting was adjourned until Thursday, November 16, at which session Miss May Kelsey Champion was elected secretary.

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FOR THE YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 6th, 1894.

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